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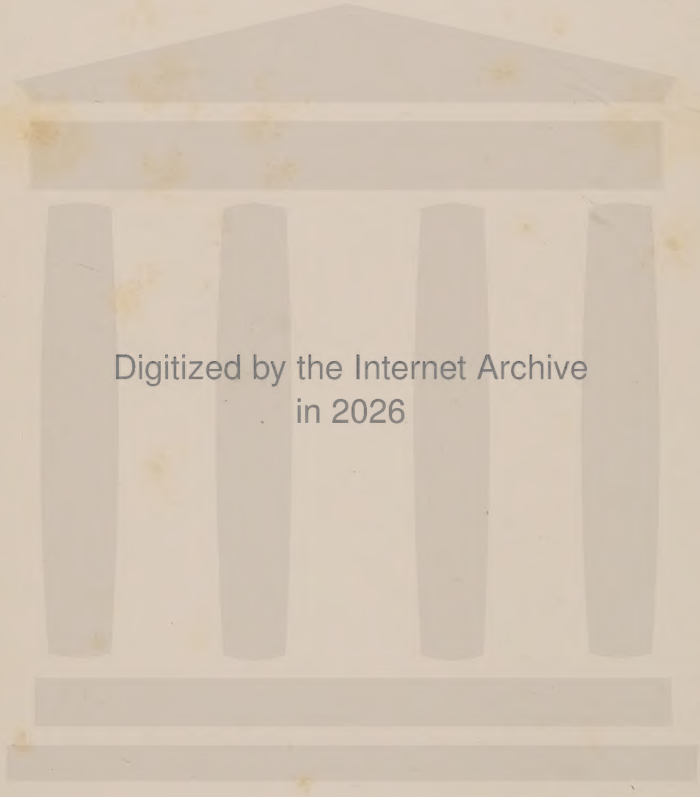
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MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS

MARCUS AURELIUS AS A YOUTH

(From a bust in the Capitoline Museum).

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS

BY

PAUL BARRON WATSON

NEW YORK
HARPER & BROTHERS, FRANKLIN SQUARE
1884

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PREFACE.

The life of Marcus Aurelius has never before been written in the English language—a fact which, of itself, would seem to be a sufficient apology for the present work. In endeavoring to supply this want, the author wishes at the outset to guard against every possible misconception. The work here offered to the public pretends to be nothing more than a study of the character of Marcus Aurelius. It has been the author's aim to eliminate, as far as possible, all such details of contemporary history as do not have a direct bearing upon this theme. There is one subject, however, in which it has been found impossible to practise so great conciseness as would for some reasons appear desirable—I mean, the chapter on the attitude of the Emperor towards Christianity. Without a tolerably complete acquaintance with the state of Christianity at that time, we can form no just conception of Marcus's religious character. It has been deemed wise, however, to consider only those characteristics of Christianity which were then most prominent, and which furnished the basis for the attitude taken by the Emperor. In this way we are forced to present a very one-sided picture of Christianity. The reign of Marcus Aurelius marks a period extremely rife in heresy; and it was mainly with an heretical Christianity that the Emperor was brought face to face. The reader will understand, therefore, why in this book he so seldom meets with the plain and simple doctrines which were taught by Jesus.

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As to the authorities consulted, I have sought to make use of all that has been written on my subject, whether in ancient or in modern times. The variety of my materials may be seen by referring to the bibliography inserted immediately before the Index to this volume. While I have endeavored to make the list as complete as possible, I am aware that some works of recent date may possibly have escaped my notice. It is hoped, however, that everything has been examined which was written on my subject previously to the sixteenth century. Should it be found that my inquiries have been at all successful in presenting a truer view of Marcus Aurelius than has hitherto prevailed, the credit must be given mainly to the kindness and efficiency of the officers of the Harvard College Library. I wish, also, to express my deep obligations to the Boston Public Library and to the Boston Athenæum.

CAMBRIDGE, *February* 29, 1884.

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MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS.

Chapter I.

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH. A.D. 121–138.

Characteristics of the Second Century.—Birth of Marcus.—His Ancestors.—Condition of the Roman Empire.—Dearth of Population.—Scarcity of Resources.—Dissatisfaction in the Provinces.—Insurrection of Imperial Legates.—Despotic Power of the Emperors.—Marcus is brought up by his Grandfather.—His Aunt, Faustina, Marries Antoninus.—Marcus is called *Verissimus* by Hadrian.—Is Enrolled among the Knights.—Enters the College of Salic Priests.—Becomes Interested in Philosophy.—His Grandfather Dies, and Marcus goes to Live at the Country Estates of Antoninus.—Affection for his Uncle.—Life at Lorium and Lanuvium.—Hadrian Appoints Antoninus his Successor.—Antoninus Adopts Marcus and Lucius Verus.—Death of Hadrian.

The second century of the Christian era is characterized by a striking contrast of lights and shadows. We are dazzled by the splendor of its present, while we shrink with dread before the gloominess of its future. The age of the Antonines is a period of transition. In their reigns, the wealth and power and magnificence of the Roman Empire are contemplated at their highest point. Indeed, so far had Trajan carried his conquests, that it now seemed impossible to conquer more. The ambition which had extended the boundaries of Rome until they embraced the whole of the known world, began to fade away for lack of anything on which to exercise itself. The Roman people were gradually withdrawing from public activity, in order to enjoy in peace the fruits of their past

conquests. The enjoyment which they sought, however, was beyond their reach. They had carried the arts of warfare and of politics almost to perfection. But to the moral and social problems, which are always of the first importance in times of peace, they had given little thought; and to the solution of such problems the Roman temperament was ill-adapted. The work of the Roman Empire had ended with her conquests; and, in the midst of all their splendor, her subjects found themselves in penury.

Among the many striking contrasts which this age affords, there is none more conspicuous than that presented by the individual characters of the time. From Nerva to Marcus Aurelius, that period when the world was sunk to its lowest depths of degradation, the throne was occupied by a succession of rulers such as have been granted to few nations before or since. The grandest figure in this line of so-called Good Emperors was Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. He was the last emperor who can be truly said to represent the majesty of ancient Rome. In contemplating this lofty character we invariably experience a feeling of strange depression, even more intense than that which comes over us in reading of the monsters by whom he was succeeded. However disgusting the picture of a Commodus, it is, at any rate, in harmony with its surroundings. We imagine Commodus perpetually attended by a throng of parasites, whose sympathies are in perfect unison with the diabolical schemes with which his own breast is filled. We seem to see in him a true reflection of his age. But with his father it is not so; and it is this contrast between Marcus Aurelius and those about him which makes a study of his life, in many ways, so painful. He seems quite out of place in the century in which he lived. We think of him as almost without a sympathizing friend; as passing through the world in loneliness and grief; as eager to break away from the vain ambitions of the past, yet unprepared to grasp the consolation soon to be embraced by his descendants. He stands forth as the last, the best, representative of all the old religion could accomplish. He exhibits in its highest form the character of an ancient Roman; and in him we are ena-

bled, better than in any other figure of antiquity, to study the relative merits of Paganism and Christianity.

Marcus Aurelius was born in his father's villa at Rome, on Mount Cœlius, on the 26th of April, A. D. 121.[1] In accordance with the custom of the times, the little child whose eventful life we are to follow was given his *praenomen*, Marcus, on the ninth day after birth. To this were added his *nomen gentilicium* and the family name; so that in his early life our hero was known as Marcus Annius Verus. The appellation Aurelius was not assumed till several years later.

The family to which Marcus belonged came originally from Succubo, a town in Hispania Bætica, not far from the present city of Cordova. In this town Annius Verus, the first of the family who came into public notice, was born; and it was probably here that the *cognomen* Verus was added to the *nomen gentilicium* in recognition of the personal trustworthiness of the man. This Annius Verus, the great grandfather of our hero, filled, at one time, the office of prætor in his native town; and later, on coming to Rome, was appointed senator. His son, the grandfather of Marcus, held the post of prefect of the city; and it was he that was raised by Vespasian to the rank of patrician. The nature and privileges of the patrician order had undergone great changes since the days when every Roman citizen was a patrician, and all others slaves. After the foundation of the order of plebeians the patricians soon lost their distinctive character as citizens of Rome, and gradually came to be looked upon solely in the light of descendants from the senators of old. In other words, their glory as an aristocracy of birth increased in proportion as their political prerogatives declined. The patricians still maintained, however, the exclusive privilege of performing certain religious ceremonies; and in these rites they took a great deal of pride, since it was along with its religious pre-

[1] Capitolinus, *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 1: *Natus est Marcus Romae VI. kal. Maias in monte Coelio in hortis, auo suo iterum et Augure consulibus.* See also an inscription in Gaetano Luigi Marini, *Gli atti e monumenti de' fratelli Arvali.* Roma, 1795. 2 v. 4°. v. 2, p. 387.

rogatives that the patrician order had first gained its civil and political supremacy.

Annius Verus, then, the father of the future Emperor, was born in a patrician family. This, to be sure, entitled him, as we have seen, to little political honor; but the influence which is always connected with nobility of birth gave him the prospect of an easy rise to eminence, and when only a young man he began to aspire to a political career. His father, the member of the family who had been ennobled, was already consul for the second time; and he himself had married a daughter of Calvisius Tullus, who had been twice consul. This woman was also well descended on her mother's side, being a granddaughter of Catilius Severus, who had been twice consul and prefect of the city. The name of this lady, who was to give birth to the famous Emperor, was Domitia Lucilla.[1]

At the time when the young Marcus was born, and when his father, Annius Verus, was about to enter the public life for which he seemed destined by his family position, the Ro-

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[1] Capitolinus gives her name as Domitia Calvilla. Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 1: *Mater Domitia Caluilla Caluisii Tulli bis consulis filia.* But this is contradicted by Spartianus, *Didius Jul.*, c. 1: *Educatus est apud Domitiam Lucillam matrem Marci imperatoris.* Of the two passages the latter is undoubtedly the correct one. For, in the first place, the diminutive from Calvisius would not be Calvilla, as Capitolinus suggests, but Calvisilla; and, secondly, a number of inscriptions have been found which prove conclusively that the name of Marcus's mother was Domitia Lucilla. See Borghesi's article entitled *Figulina di Domizia Lucilla, madre dell' Imperatore M. Aurelio* (in *Giornale arcadico*, v. 1, pp. 359–76). With regard to her grandfather, Catilius Severus, we are told that his name was also given to Marcus in his earliest days. Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 1: *M. Antoninus principio aeui sui nomen habuit Catilii Seueri materni proaui.* And it is possible that Galen refers to the same fact when he says (*Aduers. eos qui de typ. scrips.* c. 1 [v. 7, p. 478 of Kühn's ed.]): Ἦρχε δὲ τότε Σεβῆρος, ἑαυτὸν μὲν Ἀντωνῖνον μετονομάσας. But this name occurs in none of Marcus's inscriptions, and, if he was given the name at all, it must have been very early dropped; for Capitolinus himself says that after the death of his father, which occurred shortly after Marcus's birth, his name was altered. Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 1: *Post excessum uero patris ab Hadriano Annius Verissimus uocatus est.*

man world was at the zenith of its glory. The campaigns of Trajan, who died in 117, had extended the Roman sway farther than it ever reached before or since. At his death the Empire was more than two thousand miles in breadth, from the wall of Antoninus to Mount Atlas and the tropic of Cancer; and in length it reached from the Atlantic Ocean to the river Euphrates, a distance of over three thousand miles. So vast an acquisition of territory had not been made without the aid of warlike measures. Trajan had been a soldier almost from his birth; and, when raised to the imperial throne, had determined upon a policy very different from that of many of his predecessors. His one idea of strength was centred in the army; and to give effect to this idea he was ready to make any sacrifice whatever. A vast military establishment like that introduced by Trajan, together with the enormous extension of territory which he accomplished by force of arms, could not fail to be productive of future dangers and difficulties to the Empire. No sooner, then, was Hadrian chosen emperor than he was called upon to meet five difficulties which seemed especially to threaten the safety of the Roman world. These same difficulties presented themselves later to Marcus Aurelius; and, since the greater part of his public life was spent in struggling against them, and since, moreover, it is in them that we are to trace the final downfall of the Roman Empire, it will be well to fix them clearly in our minds at this stage of our studies.

I. In the first place, the military establishment introduced on so vast a scale by Trajan was soon found to have a material influence in diminishing the Roman population. This was an evil which Julius Cæsar had often tried to meet.[1] It did not spring alone from the fact that the young men were killed in war, but from the far more disastrous effect which a martial discipline has in destroying all home influence and married life. The neglect of marriage was an evil always much more prevalent among the Romans than it is with us. Indeed, so alarming had become the danger, even in the times of Augus-

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 43, c. 25.

tus, that he had found it necessary to pass the so-called *lex Iulia*, which was nothing less than a bribe offered by the state to induce its citizens to marry. But that this law did not prove permanently successful in encouraging an increase of the population we shall see later, when we come to treat of the plague which devastated Rome in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

II. The second difficulty against which Hadrian had to fight was the lack of money. This, again, was brought about to a great extent by the necessity of keeping a standing army perpetually moving about from one part of the Empire to another. The triumphs, too, and the extensive military displays to which the Roman soldiers were accustomed, only added to the evil. Even the burdens imposed upon the people of continental Europe to-day convey but a poor impression of the sufferings which the martial policy of Rome inflicted upon her exhausted subjects. Scarcely a feature of the imperial age makes itself so prominent as the grinding taxation to which the Roman people were exposed. And the most unfortunate circumstance connected with this matter was that the need of a revenue was always greatest at those times when the nation was reduced by war and famine—in other words, the rate of taxation usually increased in proportion as the power of paying it diminished.

III. The two deficiencies of which we have just treated, viz., a dearth of population and a scarcity of resources, the emperors attempted to supply by imposing upon the conquered provinces the burdens which had hitherto been borne by the citizens at home. Instead of calling upon the Roman people to enlist in the service of their country, it grew to be the custom to fill up the broken ranks almost entirely from the provinces. Thus the Roman army came in time to be little more than a horde of barbarians; and on several occasions the foremost generals were men who had themselves been conquered by the Roman arms. Further than this, it was from the newly acquired provinces that the money for carrying on new wars and for making architectural improvements at home was levied. Merivale says, "The princely prodigality of Trajan's

taste was defrayed by the plunder or tribute of conquered enemies."[1] So heavy an imposition of duties upon a conquered people, coupled with the fact that this conquered people formed the bulwark of the Empire, could have but one result. It created a dissatisfaction in the provinces at the same time that it furnished them with a potent means of resistance. One by one, therefore, the provinces revolted; and, though they were many times put down, they continued to harass the emperors by their rebellious projects, until at last they proved themselves successful.

IV. In order to keep the provinces in subjection and at the same time to collect with certainty the quota of men and resources which the emperors demanded from them, it was necessary to establish legates, with almost supreme power, in the various provinces of the Empire. This opened a new danger to the central government. The ambitious generals who had been placed in the outlying districts of the Empire found ready supporters in the dissatisfied people whom they governed. Some of these rebellions—for example, those of Galba, of Vitellius, of Vespasian—had been successful. Others, as we shall see hereafter, were soon put down. But, in either case, the emperors found it extremely difficult to grant to the several provinces that degree of independence which appeared desirable and yet to preserve the unity of the Empire.

V. Each of the difficulties thus far considered tended to one final result, which, though it might prove to be of the greatest possible advantage to Rome, yet did at last turn out to be her ruin. The indispensable requisite for every military administration is the concentration of power in the hands of a single executive. The enrolment of the necessary forces at the desired moment, the apportionment of the proper taxes at the proper time, and the appointment of the various generals who in the different parts of the Empire should act in perfect unison—all this demanded a single executive with powers both of legislation and of administration. Con-

[1] Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans*, v. 7, p. 204.

sequently, we find the early emperors gradually usurping all the other powers in the state. Not only did they subordinate every executive and military officer to themselves, but even the senate was compelled in time to give up nearly all its functions; until at last the emperor was left alone to take the initiative in every measure which was necessary for the public interest. Nor was this change effected by an opposition to the people's will. It was the universal sentiment that the only remedy to the evils which threatened to destroy the Empire consisted in placing almost absolute power in the emperor's hands. But how to accomplish this without allowing the ruler to become a despot was a question to which there seemed to be no answer.

These were the problems with which the Roman world was grappling while the young Marcus was lying in his cradle. Four years before, in 117, Trajan had passed away; and his successor, Hadrian, was now seated on the throne. Hadrian, though brought up in the pursuit of arms and already distinguished as one of Trajan's most successful generals, relinquished his former course of life almost immediately upon being raised to the imperial throne, and paid his entire attention to cementing together the various parts of his enormous territory. His policy was eminently successful; for, though it reduced somewhat the extent of his dominions by depriving him of Trajan's conquests beyond the Euphrates, it strengthened the alliance of those provinces which were preserved; and thus, at the time when our hero was born, the Roman world was enjoying universal peace.

Scarcely had young Marcus seen the light three months when his father, who was then exercising the office of prætor, died. This misfortune, however, was to a great extent repaired by the generosity of his grandfather, Annius Verus. The latter was at this time one of the most eminent men in Rome, and, in the very year when his son died, was performing for the second time the duties of consul. In the house of this great man the young Marcus found a home, and it was a home such as few are blessed with. His grandfather's estate was situated on Mount Cœlius, not far from the villa in

which Marcus had himself been born, and close to the palatial residence of the Laterani.[1] Here the young child was praised and petted by the aristocracy of Rome. Among the eminent persons who visited at the house of Marcus's grandfather was a young man of sterling qualities named Titus Aurelius Antoninus. His birthplace was Lanuvium, a beautiful village situated on a spur of the Alban Hills, about twenty miles to the southeast of the Capital; and the greater part of his life had been spent here and at his villa at Lorium, on the Via Aurelia, about twelve miles to the north of Rome.[2] From these quiet retreats, however, his marked abilities soon brought him into notice, and he had already, in the year 120, been chosen consul. It was probably, too, about the same time that Annius Verus, recognizing his powers and worth of character, gave him in marriage his only daughter, Annia Galeria Faustina, the sister of Marcus's father.[3] Thus Marcus became connected with one who was a few years later to be the Emperor of Rome.

The most august guest whom the venerable grandfather of Marcus was in the habit of entertaining at his house was Hadrian. That genial emperor seems to have early taken an unusual liking to the family of Annius Verus, and in Marcus's grandfather he found a warm friend of about his own age, with whom he delighted to spend the evenings which he was able to snatch from the cares and duties of his imperial position. The two friends had many bonds of sympathy. True, one of them was the wearer of a crown. But it had not always been so. The family from which Hadrian was sprung had, like that of Annius, found its origin in Spain. The history of their ancestors had not been dissimilar. Annius's father, and a somewhat more remote ancestor of Hadrian,

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[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 1: *Educatus est in eo loco in quo natus est et in domo aui sui Veri iuxta aedes Laterani.*

[2] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 1: *Ipse Antoninus Pius natus est XIII. kal. Octobres Fl. Domitiano XII. et Cornelio Dolabella consulibus in uilla Lanuuina, educatus Lorii in Aurelia, ubi postea palatium extruxit cuius hodieque reliquiae manent.*

[3] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 1: *Uxor Annia Faustina.*

had risen from the condition of a provincial prefect to the foremost offices at Rome. Hadrian had been designated Emperor by Trajan, and Vespasian had raised Annius to the dignity of patrician. Annius had passed his childhood in his native town in Spain, and it was in the same country that the youthful Hadrian had won his first victory in war. It is not difficult to picture to ourselves the zeal with which these friends used, after a rich but quiet repast in the residence of the senator, to discuss the bright days of the past, and look forward with anxiety to the uncertainties of the future. Each was ambitious to establish his own family interests, and each was fully aware that before many years his own efforts in this direction would have to cease. We can easily imagine with how great sadness on such occasions the Emperor was forced to recollect that he was without a child. Then perhaps the young Antoninus, who had been already raised to positions of great honor by the Emperor, would come in to bring some little token from Faustina to her father; he would inquire for his nephew, Marcus, and the child would be brought in to be kissed and to receive the blessing of the Emperor. It would be strange if Hadrian did not at times envy the good fortune of his friend, who was blessed with such a son and grandson. But Hadrian's envy was of short duration. His was no selfish heart; and the more he saw of little Marcus, the more the child's frank manner pleased him. Instead of Verus he used to call him *Verissimus;*[1] and as he went away at night he would urge the elder Annius Verus to educate the little boy for high pursuits.

The visits of the Emperor to Rome, however, were not frequent, nor of long duration. Hadrian's was a peculiar temperament. As we have already seen, he departed entirely from the martial policy of Trajan, and returned to the less

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 1: *Post excessum uero patris ab Hadriano Annius Verissimus uocatus est.* This name was sometimes stamped on the medals made in Marcus's honor. See the medal cited by Vaillant, *Numism.* p. 58, where we read around the head of Marcus Aurelius the words BHPICCIMOC. KAICAP. Justin also dedicates his first *Apology* to the Emperor Antoninus and Οὐηρισσίμῳ υἱῷ φιλοσόφῳ.

aggressive system of Augustus—a system which aimed at the consolidation of the peoples already conquered, rather than at the acquisition of new territory. But this policy, coupled with a singular curiosity and thirst for knowledge, kept Hadrian quite as busy in peace as his predecessor had been in war. The restless activity of Hadrian is shown by the fact that, from the year 119 till a short time before his death, his reign was one incessant journey through the various portions of his Empire; and there was scarcely a town along the borders of the Mediterranean that could not boast of having at some time or another entertained its illustrious ruler. The records which have been left us of his life are so very meagre that it is impossible to give any consecutive narrative of his travels; but it seems to have been a part of his policy to appear at Rome about once a year, if only for a few days, in order, as it were, to cement the different parts of his dominions to the centre.

The upright Antoninus continued to rise in the favor of his sovereign. Promoted from one office to another, he proved himself, to use the words of Capitolinus, "eminent in every position."[1] It was about this time that his daughter Faustina was born. A year or two later his elder daughter, who had married Lamia Silanus, died.[2] And in the same year (128 or 129) he set out for the East to occupy the post of proconsul of Asia—an office to which he had been appointed by Hadrian. Upon his return he took up his abode again at his villas in Lorium and Lanuvium, and entered once more into the intimate friendship of the Emperor.[3]

Meanwhile, the young Marcus was growing up into boyhood. He was from his earliest days a solemn little child,[4] and this characteristic remained with him throughout his later years. When he was five years old, in 126, his grandfather, then a

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[1] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 2: *Clarus in locis omnibus fuit.*

[2] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 1: *Gener per maiorem filiam Lamia Silanus;* and c. 3: *Proficiscens ad proconsulatum filiam maiorem amisit.*

[3] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 3: *Post proconsulatum in consiliis Hadriani Romae frequens uixit.*

[4] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 2: *Fuit a prima infantia grauis.*

gray-headed sire, fulfilled the duties of consul for the third time. This over, Annius Verus appears to have retired from all public life; and we can well believe that he now devoted all his time and attention to the education of his promising grandson. It was in the very next year that Hadrian enrolled the child among the knights;[1] and two years later, when only eight years old, he was placed in the college of Salic priests.[2] It may, perhaps, seem that such honors as were heaped upon the young Marcus could not fail to destroy in him that simplicity of character which should be encouraged in a boy. But it must be remembered that the honors to which Marcus was admitted were entirely of a public nature. Though, to a grown-up person, it would often be a source of false pride to parade the streets in company with the highest aristocracy of Rome, to a child it would seem merely a pretty sport. The continual gratification of one's whims, and the indulgence in all sorts of luxuries which others about us cannot enjoy, is what narrows a boy's character and makes it selfish. From such evils as these Marcus was kept free. He tells us, in later life, "From my mother I learned simplicity in my way of living, far removed from the habits of the rich."[3] His grandfather felt it wiser to lay out his money

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 4: *Ei honorem equi publici sexenni detulit.* The order of knights, or *equites*, which had been in the early times of the Republic a regularly organized order of officers in the army, had undergone a complete transformation in the time of Augustus. Under the emperors the knights constituted an honorable corps from which all the higher officers in the army and the chief magistrates in the state were chosen. Admission into this body was equivalent to an introduction into public life, and was therefore esteemed a great privilege. No young man could hold a civil office of importance, or take any military rank above that of centurion, unless he had been admitted by the emperor into this body.

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 4: *Octauo aetatis anno in saliorum collegium retulit.* See also an inscription given in Noël des Vergers, *Essai sur Marc-Aurèle*, p. 19, note 1. This college of Salic priests was said to have been instituted by Numa. The priests were twelve in number, and were always chosen from the patricians. There were scarcely any duties connected with the college, except to march through the streets once a year on the festival of Mars, in whose honor the college was founded.

[3] *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 3.

in procuring good teachers for him than to indulge him in the luxuries of the table; and in his *Thoughts* Marcus expresses his gratitude that he did not attend the public schools, but was supplied with good teachers at home, and that he was taught to feel that on such things a man should spend his money liberally.[1]

Exactly how long this happy life at his grandfather's residence in Rome continued, it is impossible to determine; but from the fact that we hear no more of Annius Verus after his third consulship, in 126, and from the statement of Capitolinus that Marcus was educated in his father's house, and afterwards in that of his grandfather,[2] it seems probable that Annius died when the little fellow was quite young. From Capitolinus we learn, further, that, when he was about twelve years old, the young philosopher put on the cloak by which the devotees of philosophy were distinguished, and began to practise so zealously the austerity of the Stoics that it was only with the greatest difficulty that his mother could induce him to cover his bed at night with the warm skin of some wild animal.[3] During the four or five years succeeding this event Marcus seems to have divided his time between his mother and little sister at Rome, and the quiet country life of Lorium and Lanuvium. It was to their villas at these two places that Antoninus and Faustina had returned after the former had, in 130, completed his duties in the East; and the country home which his aunt and uncle thus kindly offered him was of the greatest benefit to the youth, whose constitution was even then far from robust. The domestic concerns of the family in which Marcus thus spent the bright days of his boyhood were by no means what Antoninus wished. On more occasions than one he experienced a bitter pang of

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[1] *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 4.

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 1: *Educatus est in eo loco in quo natus est et in domo aui sui Veri.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 2: *Philosophiae operam uehementer dedit et quidem adhuc puer. nam duodecimum annum ingressus habitum philosophi sumpsit et deinceps tolerantiam, cum studeret in pallio et humi cubaret, uix autem matre agente instrato pellibus lectulo accubaret.*

grief upon hearing the stories which were circulated about his wife, Faustina.[1] He undoubtedly remonstrated with her again and again, and urged her to reject the advances of the many flatterers who surrounded her. He probably pointed to her own children and to her pretty little nephew, who was growing up to manhood under their roof, and tried to make her feel the danger to which her example was exposing the younger generation, especially in those days, when vice was so prevalent in the upper classes of society. At such times as these it is likely that Faustina repented, and confessed with bitter tears her former folly. And thus her husband became all the more attached to her, since pity was mingled with his affection. As far as the records of their private life have been preserved to us, we read only of the honors which her faithful husband heaped upon her,[2] and after her death he founded a hospital in her name.

Marcus was less influenced, however, by the vices of Faustina than by the virtues of Antoninus. In addition to the eulogies of the latter, which we find everywhere in Capitolinus, there is preserved in Marcus's *Thoughts* one of the noblest tributes that a son has ever paid his father (and it was always as a father that Marcus looked upon Antoninus). He says, "In my father I observed mildness of temper, and unchangeable resolution in the things which he had determined after due deliberation; and no vain-glory in those things which men call honors; and a love of labor and perseverance; and a readiness to listen to those who had anything to propose for the common weal; and undeviating firmness in giving to every man according to his deserts; and a knowledge derived from experience of the occasions for vigorous action and for remission. And I observed that he had overcome all passion for boys; and he considered himself no more than any other citizen; and he released his friends from all obligation to sup with him or to attend him of necessity when he went abroad,

[1] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 3: *De huius uxore multa dicta sunt ob nimiam libertatem et uiuendi facilitatem, quae iste cum animi dolore compressit.*

[2] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 5: *Uxorem Faustinam Augustam appellari a senatu permisit.* See also c. 6 and 8.

and those who had failed to accompany him, by reason of any urgent circumstances, always found him the same. I observed, too, his habit of careful inquiry in all matters of deliberation, and his persistency, and that he never stopped his investigation through being satisfied with appearances which first present themselves; and that his disposition was to keep his friends, and not to be soon tired of them, nor yet to be extravagant in his affection; and to be satisfied on all occasions, and cheerful; and to foresee things a long way off, and to provide for the smallest without display; and to check immediately popular applause and all flattery; and to be ever watchful over the things which were necessary for the administration of the Empire, and to be a good manager of the expenditure, and patiently to endure the blame which he got for such conduct; and he was neither superstitious with respect to the gods, nor did he court men by gifts or by trying to please them, or by flattering the populace; but he showed sobriety in all things, and firmness, and never any mean thoughts or action, nor love of novelty. And the things which conduce in any way to the commodity of life, and of which fortune gives an abundant supply, he used without arrogance and without excusing himself; so that when he had them, he enjoyed them without affectation, and when he had them not, he did not want them. No one could ever say of him that he was either a sophist, or a [home-bred] flippant slave, or a pedant; but every one acknowledged him to be a man ripe, perfect, above flattery, able to manage his own and other men's affairs. Besides this, he honored those who were true philosophers, and he did not reproach those who pretended to be philosophers, nor yet was he easily led by them. He was also easy in conversation, and he made himself agreeable without any offensive affectation. He took a reasonable care of his body's health, not as one who was greatly attached to life, nor out of regard to personal appearance, nor yet in a careless way, but so that, through his own attention, he very seldom stood in need of the physician's art, or of medicine, or external applications. He was most ready to give way without envy to those who possessed any particular faculty,

such as that of eloquence, or knowledge of the law or of morals, or of anything else; and he gave them his help, that each might enjoy reputation according to his deserts; and he always acted conformably to the institutions of his country, without showing any affectation of doing so. Further, he was not fond of change nor unsteady, but he loved to stay in the same places, and to employ himself about the same things; and after his paroxysms of headache he came immediately fresh and vigorous to his usual occupations. His secrets were not many, but very few and very rare, and these only about public matters; and he showed prudence and economy in the exhibition of the public spectacles and the construction of public buildings, his donations to the people, and in such things, for he was a man who looked to what ought to be done, not to the reputation which is got by a man's acts. . . . There was in him nothing harsh, nothing implacable nor violent, nor, as one may say, anything carried to the sweating-point; but he examined all things severally, as if he had abundance of time, and without confusion, in an orderly way, vigorously and consistently. And that might be applied to him which is recorded of Socrates, that he was able both to abstain from, and to enjoy, those things which many are too weak to abstain from, and cannot enjoy without excess."[1]

It was at the table of such a father as this that Marcus and his little cousin Faustina, whom Antoninus had with tender love named after her mother, grew to maturity. The zeal with which the boy, when only twelve years old, had devoted himself to the life and habits of a philosopher, did not abate as he grew older. His uncle, however, aware of the danger in allowing a child to apply his mind exclusively to one subject, wisely checked his nephew's philosophical studies by employing private teachers to instruct him in the other elementary branches of education. Capitolinus gives us a long list of the teachers whom Antoninus selected for the boy, and among them we find the names of persons who were celebrated in all departments.[2] Not only are the elements of

[1] *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 16.

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 2.

Greek and Latin, and rhetoric, and oratory, and mathematics mentioned in the list, but we also find the young scholar trying his hand at writing poetry and comedies. Indeed, his uncle seems to have spared neither pains nor money to procure from all parts of the Empire the men most eminent in their professions. This kindness was not wasted on the youth. In every subject which he took up he found a new source of interest. The more he learned, the more he wished to know. And this insatiable appetite for knowledge remained with him throughout his life. His parents noticed the extreme diligence with which the boy pursued his studies, and, though they felt a secret joy therein, yet it caused them no little anxiety. The weary eyes with which the youth looked in his mother's face, as he kissed her in the morning, told of late hours spent over his Cicero and his Cæsar the night before. His sunken cheeks lacked the ruddy glow of boyhood, and his whole frame seemed too weak to bear the fatigues for which his uncle was more than half aware the child was destined. Some new course must be devised. Measures must be taken to strengthen the youth's frail body. His uncle, therefore, insisted upon the importance of out-of-door exercise. He bought a pony for his nephew, and the two used often to start out before breakfast and take a gallop together over the beautiful hills of Lorium. When the novelty of this amusement wore away, Antoninus would invite his friends to come down from the city, and Marcus had to throw away his books and join the others in a hunt. By such means as these the boy was enabled to preserve his health; but even while dashing over the hills his busy mind was with his books at home.

During all these years of Marcus's childhood the Emperor Hadrian had been travelling constantly from one end of his Empire to the other; but towards the close of the year 135 he returned to Rome once more—this time never to depart again. Sixty busy years had passed over his head, and the weaknesses of age were coming fast upon him. The genial temperament, for which he was in early life so celebrated, was giving way to sourness and irritability. Many of his old friends were becoming offended at him, or he was losing confidence

in them. But the imperial power still remained in his hands; and, therefore, being sensible of his own increasing weakness, he began to look about him for a successor. Among the nobility who at this time frequented the court of Hadrian, and continued to flatter him in spite of the infirmities of his old age, was a young man of society named L. Ceionius Commodus Verus. This person had already ingratiated himself with the Emperor, and it seems that, even as early as the year 130, when Verus was appointed prætor, Hadrian had partly made up his mind to nominate him as his successor. According to Spartianus, he adopted the young man at about the same time.[1] Subsequently Hadrian appointed him governor of Pannonia. In the year 136 he was admitted for the first time to the consulship; and it was during the course of this year, probably between June 19th and August 29th of the year 136, that Hadrian formally granted him the title of *Caesar*, thereby designating him as his successor to the throne. Commodus thereupon took the name of Ælius, the family appellation of Hadrian, and in his second consulship, which took place in 137, we find him referred to as L. Ælius Verus.[2] The rea-

[1] Spart., *Ael. Ver.*, c. 3: *Adoptatus autem Aelius Verus ab Hadriano eo tempore quo iam, ut superius diximus, parum uigebat et de successore necessario cogitabat.*

[2] The chronology of this man's life presents a good deal of difficulty. Spartianus, in his *Ael. Ver.*, c. 3, says he was adopted just before being made prefect, which was in 130; and in a letter to Servianus (preserved in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, in Flavius Vopiscus's life of Saturninus, c. 8), which could not have been written later than 134, Hadrian speaks of Ælius as *filium meum Verum*. It is, therefore, clear that the adoption of Ælius took place about the year 130. And this view is supported also by the assertion of Spartianus, *Ael. Ver.*, c. 3, that between the time of his adoption and his first consulship, in 136, he held the offices of prætor and governor of Pannonia; for, if we put his adoption much later than 130, the interval between that event and his first consulship would not be long enough for him to have occupied these positions. The only objection to this view of his adoption in 130 is that Spartianus, in his *Hadr.*, c. 23, says that upon his adoption he was called Ælius Verus Cæsar; and all the inscriptions which are dated before his first consulate, in 136, speak of him as L. Ceionius Commodus (see Orelli, *nos.* 1681, 4354, and 6086), those only which are dated from his second consulship, in 137,

sons which induced Hadrian to nominate this man as his successor have been the subject of much dispute. The difficulty arises from some passages in Spartianus, where L. Ælius Verus is spoken of as a voluptuary, whose most important qualification for the throne consisted in the fact that he had invented a new sort of pasty which tickled the palate of the Emperor.[1] But such grounds as these could not have been of any weight with a man like Hadrian, afflicted though he was by the infirmities of age. Indeed, Spartianus himself hints at some other traits of Ælius which make us suspect that he is scarcely dealing fairly with this young man. Ælius certainly possessed the arts of popularity in no slight degree. He is said to have had a handsome face and manly figure, and to have been by no means deficient either in eloquence or in education.[2] And from the fact that the reputation which he won as prætor and governor of Pannonia was sufficient to raise him to the consulship, and that he was chosen to this high office a second time, we may feel justified in adding to the faint praise of Spartianus that even in the management of public affairs he possessed some slight measure of ability. Indeed, the hasty comment of Spartianus, that the Emperor adopted him "against the will of everybody,"[3] is, in itself, a good ground for suspecting a lack of fair play either in

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calling him L. Ælius Cæsar (see Orelli, *nos.* 828, 856, and 6527). This objection, however, loses its entire force if we separate the act of his adoption from that of his nomination as *Caesar*, and hold that when Spartianus, in the passage first cited (*Ael. Ver.*, c. 3), speaks of his adoption, he refers to the private act of Hadrian's taking him into his family, in 130, and when he speaks the second time (*Hadr.*, c. 23) of his adoption, he means the formal recognition of him as his successor, in 136. This, then, would seem to be the true interpretation. The question is learnedly discussed in Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 8, p. 457; Duruy, *Hist. des Romans*, v. 4, p. 406, note; and Peter, *Gesch. Roms*, v. 3, pt. 2, p. 186, note.

[1] Spart., *Ael. Ver.*, c. 5.

[2] Spart., *Ael. Ver.*, c. 5: *Fuit hic uitae laetissimae, eruditus in litteris, Hadriano, ut maliuoli locuntur, acceptior forma quam moribus . . . comptus, decorus, pulchritudinis regiae, oris uenerandi, eloquentiae celsioris, uersu facilis, in re publica etiam non inutilis.*

[3] Spart., *Hadr.*, c. 23: *Inuitis omnibus.*

Spartianus or in the source whence he derived his information.

Be this as it may, Ælius did not obtain an opportunity to display his talents as an emperor. In less than eighteen months after his nomination he was suddenly taken sick, and died on the 1st of January, 138.[1] Thus Hadrian, who now felt his end rapidly approaching, was compelled to choose once more a successor to the throne. This time he seems to have found little difficulty in coming to a determination. In all the vicissitudes of his life he had not ceased to remember his little favorite *Verissimus*, whose sterling qualities he had first had reason to notice at the house of the old senator, Annius Verus. It was only in the preceding year, 137, that Hadrian had appointed the young Marcus, then sixteen years of age, to the position of prefect of the Latin festivities at Rome, while the consuls were away at Mount Albus;[2] and here the young man had proved himself well worthy of the honor with which his Emperor had intrusted him. Marcus, therefore, presented himself to the Emperor's mind as the person best suited to take his place. But there was one difficulty in the way of appointing him his successor, and that was the fact that L. Ælius Verus, whom Hadrian had nominated *Caesar*, had died leaving a son, L. Ceionius Commodus; and it seemed unjust to this boy to appoint another *Caesar* while the son of the former *Caesar* was still alive. Hadrian, however, soon found a solution to this difficulty; and on the 25th of February, 138, he fixed upon Marcus's uncle, Antoninus, as his successor; but only on the condition that he should adopt these two boys, L. Ceionius Commodus Verus and Marcus Annius Verus, and that at the death of Antoninus they should be admitted together to the throne.[3] Further, in or-

[1] Spart., *Ael. Ver.*, c. 4: *Kalendis ipsis Ianuariis periit.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 4: *Nec multo post praefectus feriarum Latinarum fuit.*

[3] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 4: *Adoptionis lex huiusmodi data est, ut quem ad modum Antoninus ab Hadriano adoptabatur ita sibi ille adoptaret M. Antoninum fratris uxoris suae filium et L. Verum Aelii Veri qui ab Hadriano adoptatus fuerat filium, qui postea Verus Antoninus est dictus adoptatus est V. kal. Martias.*

der that Antoninus might not show greater favor to Marcus than to the other, since he was Marcus's uncle and his daughter Faustina had already been betrothed to her young cousin, he stipulated that Faustina should be given in marriage to the young Commodus, and that Marcus, in return, should marry Fabia, the sister of Commodus, his adopted brother.[1] In this way Hadrian was enabled to place the Empire in the hands of a man well on in life, whose powers had already stood the test of trial; and, at the same time, by joining his two favorites to each other and to their adoptive father by the ties of marriage, to insure their future accession to the throne and an harmonious government under their joint rule.

Having made this last provision for the future interests of the Empire, the weary Hadrian retired to his villa at Baiæ, to enjoy the soothing influence of a Neapolitan sun and to indulge in the warm mineral springs for which that fashionable resort was celebrated. Even this precaution, however, was now too late. Hadrian lingered but a few months longer, and expired on the 10th of June, 138.[2] Antoninus was now Emperor of the Roman world.

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[1] Some of Marcus's biographers have been quite in error as to the marriage stipulation upon which Hadrian insisted. It has been thought that Marcus was originally betrothed to Fabia, and that Hadrian induced him to give up this intention in order to marry his own cousin, Faustina. But Spartianus is quite explicit on the subject. He says, in his *Ael. Ver.*, c. 6, that Hadrian adopted Antoninus "on the condition that he should give his daughter to Verus, not to Marcus;" and, again, in Capitolinus, *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 4, we read that Marcus was betrothed to the daughter of the elder Commodus in accordance with the desire of Hadrian.

[2] Spart., *Hadr.*, c. 25: *Apud ipsas Baias periit die sexto iduum Iuliarum.*

Chapter II.

THE PERIOD OF PROBATION. A.D. 138–161.

Marcus Takes the names Aurelius Antoninus.—Assists his Adoptive Father in the Government.—Their Policy.—Popularity of Antoninus Pius.—His Private Life.—Marcus is made Quæstor.—*Seuir turmæ.*—Consul.—*Caesar.*—Private Life of Marcus.—Love for his Cousin, Faustina.—Marriage.—Continues his Studies.—Intimacy with his Teacher, Fronto.—Incidents in his Country Life.—Early Life of Lucius Verus.—Marcus becomes Dissatisfied with Rhetoric and takes up Philosophy.—Esteem for his Instructors.—Ill-health.—Domestic Grief.—Death of Antoninus Pius.

The first public act which Antoninus performed after his accession was to convey the ashes of his predecessor to Rome, and to demand from the senate that Hadrian should be enrolled among the gods. For this act of piety and affection the senate conferred upon him the title of Pius—the appellation by which he is known to history. On the other hand, Marcus became known, after his adoption, as Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, in honor of his adoptive father.[1] The little Lu-

[1] We are told that Marcus was sometimes known during his childhood by the name of his mother's grandfather, Catilius Severus, and that upon assuming the *toga uirilis* he laid aside this name and was known simply as Marcus Annius Verus. Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 1: *M. Antoninus principio aeui sui nomen habuit Catilii Seueri materni proaui . . . post uirilem autem togam Annius Verus.* Dion Cassius seems to have thought Marcus retained the name Catilius till the time of his adoption, in 138. See Dion Cassius, lib. 69, c. 21. Galen leaves him the name Severus until he took up the name Antoninus, in 138, thus agreeing with Dion Cassius. Galen., *Aduers. eos qui de typ. scrips.*, c. 1 [v. 7, p. 478 of Kühn's ed.]: Ἦρχε δὲ τότε Σεβῆρος, ἑαυτὸν μὲν Ἀντωνῖνον μετονομάσας. In all probability the change was gradual, none of his other names being entirely given up until, in 138, he became known as Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

cius Verus now combined the name Ælius, which Hadrian had given to his father, with that of Aurelius Antoninus, in honor of his adoptive father; but he is more often designated by his original name of Lucius Verus.

The path of life which the young Marcus thus found prepared for him was in many respects an unenviable one. We have already had occasion to dwell somewhat upon the dangers which threatened the overthrow of the Empire during the reign of Hadrian. The conciliatory measures of that wise prince had, at any rate, checked the ruin which all thoughtful citizens must have felt was imminent. But the policy adopted throughout the long reign of Trajan had exerted an influence upon the constitution of the Roman Empire which it required the exertions of more than a single monarch to overcome. Public sentiment must always be brought into sympathy with a change of policy before a ruler can with safety promulgate that policy to his people. This had been pre-eminently the work of Hadrian. He had, to a great extent, succeeded in making the entire mass of his subjects feel that the future welfare of Rome demanded a cessation of hostilities with foreign powers and a thorough reformation of the government and society at home. Towards bringing about this reformation, however, Hadrian had been able to contribute little. He had paved the way; it rested with his successors to introduce the necessary changes. It is somewhat difficult for us at this day to appreciate how imperative this policy of reformation had become; it is hard to picture to ourselves the state of degradation which the society of Rome had reached, or to conceive the utter laxity in the forms of government administration which had been allowed to creep in during the reigns of despotic or martial emperors. An able writer enumerates, among the evils which threatened the Empire at the accession of Antoninus Pius (and I believe every one of these evils will be found to have its origin in the exclusively martial policy of the early emperors), the following: "The depopulation of the provinces, the steady diminution in the class of freemen, the multitude of slaves and freedmen, the influential position of informers, the degrada-

tion of character with reference to all sorts of superstition, the depravity of morals, the sacrifices which the emperors were called upon to make to the populace and the army, who were the principal and necessary supporters of the throne; the danger which surrounds an authority that is absolute and uncontrolled, and the difficulty of introducing such reforms as were demanded for the public welfare."[1] These were some of the anxieties which presented themselves to the philosophic mind of Marcus, when, in his eighteenth year, he was called to undertake the duties of public life. It is not strange, therefore, that his mind was filled with sadness and forebodings as he transferred his residence to the palace of the emperors.[2]

Antoninus Pius was fifty-two years of age when he ascended the throne. The little Lucius Verus was then but a child of eight, and seems at no time during his adoptive father's life to have attained to any share in the administration of the Empire. Marcus Aurelius, however, though at the time only seventeen years of age, had already shown himself, in the eyes of Antoninus, well fitted for the discharge of weighty duties. He was, therefore, almost at once associated with his father in the supreme command. He did not, to be sure, receive the title of Emperor until his father's death, and of course his sanction was not requisite to any matter of imperial prerogative; but in practice Antoninus was greatly influenced by the young man's wishes, and he rarely promoted any one to office without the consent of Marcus.[3] In all matters of essential importance they acted as one man; and in the majority of public acts which took place during this period, the records seldom inform us whether they emanated from the father or the son. It seems, therefore, appropriate, especially as history presents us with little more than a general picture of this time, that we should regard this picture as

[1] Suckau, *Étude sur Marc-Aurèle*, pp. 37–8.

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 5: *Magis est deterritus quam laetatus iussusque in Hadriani priuatam domum migrare inuitus de maternis hortis recessit.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 6: *Tantumque apud Pium ualuit, ut numquam quemquam sine eo facile promouerit.*

representing equally the policy of Marcus and of Antoninus. Indeed, the entire harmony of their views on all public matters is clearly manifest by the acts which were performed by Marcus after he became sole emperor. A single policy runs throughout both reigns, and unites the two emperors so closely to each other that history usually designates their successive administrations by a single appellation—"the reign of the Antonines."

The policy of Antoninus was, on the whole, a continuation of that pursued by Hadrian. Each aimed to create a feeling of national union in all parts of the Empire. Hadrian had taken the preparatory step in this direction. His entire life was spent in journeying throughout the Empire, with a view to inspire a national feeling in his subjects. The tranquil life of Antoninus presents a striking contrast to the restless activity of his predecessor, but in the main their purposes were alike. No national sentiment could long exist in the provinces unless they had reason to believe themselves bound to Rome by other ties than those which bind a servant to his master. And this relation of master and servant Antoninus saw that it was impossible to alter, except by cleansing the state entirely from the abuses which the late wars had brought about. To prevent a decrease in the population of Rome, and at the same time to elevate the character of her citizens, to obtain the resources requisite for carrying on the government, without creating dissatisfaction among the provinces, to insure the strict administration of justice throughout the Empire without conferring dangerous powers upon the local governors, and to preserve the dignity of the imperial office without leaving it in the power of future rulers to become despotic —these were the reforms which the Antonines found it most necessary to take in hand. It will be seen at once that the ends to be attained presented very serious difficulties. The Antonines sought to bring about the union of two things which had been hitherto deemed irreconcilable—empire and liberty. With this in view they turned their attention first to the necessities of the provinces; for it was here that perhaps the greatest abuses in the whole Empire were manifest.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the provinces had been called upon to furnish far more than their just quota towards defraying the expenses of the government; and, worse than this, a large portion of the taxes thus collected had never found its way into the public treasury, but had been stolen by the unworthy agents of the Emperor. To these acts of injustice and extortion Antoninus put a stop at once. Those who had charge of the imperial revenues in the provinces were ordered to be lenient in collecting the tribute. Whenever any one felt himself overburdened, Antoninus invariably granted him a ready hearing; and, if he found that more than was just had been extorted from any of his subjects, he took care that the surplus should be immediately returned.[1] It was in this way, and also by ceasing to levy the huge armies which his predecessors had kept on foot, that Antoninus succeeded in winning the allegiance of his subjects in the colonies. These lenient measures, however, could not fail to excite dissatisfaction among the people of Italy and Rome. To appease them he set apart a sum of money to insure the regular performance of gladiatorial sports, and he also supported the chariot-races with extraordinary zeal.[2] Further, he managed to keep the soldiers in a state of quiet by granting them occasional largesses.[3] It is also said that he conciliated the people greatly by his leniency in administering justice. He pardoned the guilty in every case where his conscience would allow it; and more than once refrained from punishing persons who had been condemned by Hadrian, saying that if Hadrian had

[1] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 6: *Procuratores suos et modeste suscipere tributa iussit et excedentes modum rationem factorum suorum reddere praecepit. nec umquam ullo laetatus est lucro quo prouincialis oppressus est. contra procuratores suos conquerentes libenter audiuit.*

[2] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 12: *Sumptum muneribus gladiatoriis instituit. uehicularium cursum summa diligentia subleuauit.*

[3] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 4: *Congiarium populo de proprio dedit et ea quae pater promiserat. et ad opera Hadriani plurimum contulit et aurum coronarium, quod adoptionis suae causa oblatum fuerat, Italicis totum, medium prouincialibus reddidit.* The coins of Antoninus Pius's reign show that he granted largesses in 139, 140, 148, 153, and 163. See Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 11, 12, 18, 22, and 27.

lived, he, too, would have seen his way to pardoning them.[1] Moreover, he instituted many new laws and made alterations in several of those already existing, all of which measures were directed towards protecting the weak and the oppressed.[2] "It is from the time of the Antonines," says Renan, "that nearly all those laws date which relax the rigor of the ancient law."[3] As another means of keeping alive the affection of the people, he completed every good work which had been begun by Hadrian, and it is said he did not remove a single officer whom that popular monarch had appointed.[4]

In all these admirable measures Antoninus was beset with one well-nigh insuperable difficulty — the lack of resources. Previous emperors had met this difficulty by increasing the taxation. Antoninus pursued a very different course; he even diminished the amount of tribute to be levied from the provinces. And yet, without increasing the quota to be contributed in Italy, he succeeded in satisfying the people with largesses, with works of architecture, and with spectacular performances. The means by which he accomplished this was chiefly in the practice of a rigorous economy. Indeed, one of his biographers tells us he carried this principle so far that some of his subjects called him κυμινοπρίστης, or, the cummin-splitter.[5] Contrary to the custom of Hadrian, he made no long journeys, as he said the expenses attendant thereon were too great a burden to the people.[6] Whenever it was possible he sought retirement at his villa outside of

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[1] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 6: *His quos Hadrianus damnauerat in senatu indulgentias petiit dicens etiam ipsum Hadrianum hoc fuisse facturum.*

[2] See Gaius, *Inst.*, lib. 1, c. 53; and Iustinian., *Dig.*, lib. 1, tit. 12, c. 8, and lib. 48, tit. 8, c. 1, § 2.

[3] Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, pp. 22–3.

[4] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 5: *Nulli eorum quos Hadrianus prouexerat successorem dedit.*

[5] Dion Cassius, lib. 70, c. 3: Λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ξητητικὸς λενέσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ περὶ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα τῆς ἀκριβολογίας ἀφίστασθαι· ὥθον αὐτὸν οἱ σκώπτοντες καὶ κυμινοπρίστην ἐκάλουν.

[6] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 7: *Nec ullas expeditiones obiit nisi quod ad agros suos profectus est ad Campaniam, dicens grauem esse prouincialibus comitatum principis etiam nimis parci.*

Rome. He also did away with the informers, who had become extremely numerous, and who lived by giving information in regard to crimes and receiving therefor one quarter of the criminal's property; so that all that had formerly gone into the pockets of these sycophants now found its way into the public treasury. In some cases, too, we are told that the largesses given by Antoninus to the soldiers were defrayed from his own private property.[1] The method, however, which Antoninus adopted more gladly than any other, in order to keep the treasury in a flourishing condition, was by reducing the numbers, and consequently the expenses, of the standing army. It must not be supposed, as it often is,[2] that the reign of Antoninus was entirely free from wars. Capitolinus himself tells us that "through his legates he waged many wars. By Lollius Urbicus he overcame the Britons,[3] and, after driving them back, erected a second earthen rampart. The Moors he compelled to sue for peace. The Germans, the Dacians, and many other peoples, among them the Jews, who had risen in rebellion, he subdued through the governors and legates whom he had appointed. In Achaia, also, and in Egypt, he repressed insurrections. The Alani, who often became restless, he quieted."[4] But these wars seem all to have been of short duration, and were probably in great part carried on by means of a militia levied on the spot. Whenever any calamities fell upon the people, he did all in his power to relieve them. Thus, when the earthquakes took place which Dion Cassius tells us[5] resulted so disastrously to the towns in Bithynia and along the Hellespont, and which utterly destroyed the splendid city of Cyzicus, there can be no doubt that Antoninus contributed largely towards repairing the loss. Indeed, in every way he attempted to make his subjects feel that he had their welfare entirely at heart.

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[1] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 4: *Congiarium populo de proprio dedit.*

[2] Ripault, *Marc-Aurèle*, v. 1, pp. 220–1.

[3] This was in the year 140. See a coin in Eckhel, v. 7, p. 14.

[4] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 5.

[5] Dion Cassius, lib. 70, c. 4: Ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου λέγεται καὶ φοβερώτατος περὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Βιθυνίας καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου σεισμὸς γενέσθαι κ. τ. λ.

Without resigning into the hands of the people those powers which he felt would be more safely vested in the ruler, he succeeded in making them sympathize with him in all his works; and by reporting every measure which he had determined upon to the senate, and by proclaiming it in an edict to the people,[1] he inspired his subjects with a feeling of nationality and a desire for the welfare of the entire realm. In this way Antoninus was enabled to spread abroad the principles of liberty, and, at the same time, to preserve intact the dignity and power which belonged to him as Emperor.

The private life of Antoninus accorded well with his public virtues, and the same principles by which he was actuated in the affairs of state seem always to have guided him in his dealings with his friends. His whole conduct, public and private, was pervaded by a simplicity of purpose such as has rarely been equalled by any monarch. Though possessed of great wealth, and well able to indulge in all the pomp and brilliancy of Roman society, he preferred the quiet of his suburban villas, and even when most deeply involved in the anxieties of public life he usually managed to spend his evenings in the bosom of his family at Lanuvium or Lorium. At the latter place, in order to offer a more hospitable welcome to his friends, he built a palace;[2] and at the houses of other people he was not infrequently a guest. Indeed, Capitolinus tells us that he spent a great deal of his time in the society of his friends;[3] and, when he did so, he took care that every one about him should be treated as on an equality with himself. In all sorts of recreations he took an intense pleasure. We have already seen with what zeal he applauded and encouraged the various scenic amusements which were offered to the Roman people. His favorite pastimes, however, were of a more private nature. It was his great delight, whenever he could snatch an afternoon from the duties of the Empire, to

[1] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 12: *Omnium quae gessit et in senatu et per edicta rationem reddidit.*

[2] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 1: *Educatus Lorii in Aurelia, ubi postea palatium extruxit cuius hodieque reliquiae manent.*

[3] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 11: *Frequentauit et ipse amicorum suorum conuiuia.*

get a few friends together and go off on a quiet hunting or fishing party in the vicinity of his villa.[1] On such occasions his amiable disposition must have contributed largely to the happiness of those about him. In humor, too, he was by no means deficient. There is a story told about him which illustrates well at the same time his remarkable forgiveness of injuries and his sense of humor. It is said[2] that when he first went to Smyrna as proconsul of Asia, he was offered temporarily the house of Polemon, the celebrated Sophist and rhetorician, who happened at the time to be away. A short time afterwards Polemon returned, in the middle of the night, and, finding his house occupied, exclaimed in anger that he had been turned out of his own house. The proconsul overheard the remark, and, getting out of bed at once, he collected his luggage together and went in search of other lodgings. After Antoninus was appointed Emperor, Polemon had occasion to come to Rome. One day Antoninus chanced to see him in the street. He smiled, and, after conversing pleasantly with him a few moments, gave orders that a room in the palace should be made ready for the stranger. "But be sure," he said good-humoredly to the servant, "that no one shall turn him out." This gentle rebuke, however, did not succeed in improving Polemon's temper. At a play which he attended while in Rome one of the actors failed to perform his part to Polemon's satisfaction; whereupon Polemon insisted that the fellow should be driven off the stage. Later, the comedian, bringing the matter to the notice of the Emperor, was asked, "At what hour did he drive you from the stage?" "It was at mid-day." "Ah," replied Antoninus, "it was at mid-night that he drove me from his house, and I made no complaint." This leniency in dealing with offenders was not, however, carried to such an extent as to be injurious to the public welfare. We have already seen that when the circumstances of the case demanded it, he was the first to take steps to remedy any wrong. As a rule, however, he avoided wars and other dis-

[1] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 11: *Piscando se et uenando multum oblectauit et deambulatione cum amicis atque sermone.*

[2] Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.*, lib. 1, c. 25, § 3.

turbances until it was an absolute necessity to exert his imperial authority. His love of peace was such, says Capitolinus, that he used often to remark, with Scipio, that "he preferred to serve one citizen than to kill a thousand enemies."[1] This desire to serve his fellow-men is brought prominently before us in the statement of Capitolinus that he always refused to accept legacies from any one who died and left descendants.[2] But the most characteristic picture of his nature is given us in the following story: One day, while Marcus was weeping over the death of a favorite instructor, the servants surrounded him and tried by sympathetic words to make him forget his loss. But Antoninus, coming up to them, told them to cease their efforts. "Do not," he said, "try to suppress the feelings which belong to a true man. Neither philosophy nor the Empire can destroy one's love."[3]

The reign of Antoninus Pius may be termed, not inappropriately, a period of probation for his successor. It had, to be sure, been included among the stipulations which Hadrian had made with Antoninus, that Marcus should eventually ascend the throne. But the Roman army and people had already, on more than one occasion, proved themselves capable of frustrating the will of a deceased emperor; and there can be little doubt that, had Marcus shown himself, during the reign of Antoninus, unworthy of the dignity for which he had been destined, he could have had little hope of succeeding to that high honor. As a matter of fact, however, the issue was at no time doubtful. The young Marcus, promoted from one position of trust to another, grew in popularity by every change of circumstances; and when the moment came for Antoninus's successor to assume his duties, there was but a single opinion as to who that successor should be. The first public office which Marcus held after the death of Hadrian (and, indeed, it seems probable that Hadrian had, during the last few months of his life, called on the senate to confirm the nomination of Marcus) was that of quæstor. The

[1] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 9.

[2] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 8: *Hereditates eorum qui filios habebant repudiauit.*

[3] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 10.

duties of this position he assumed in the autumn of 138, at the unusually early age of seventeen.[1] The precise status of these quæstors during the times of the early emperors it is difficult to determine. Indeed, the objects for which they were appointed are so various that it is scarcely possible to give any exact description of their office. As a rule, however, they seem to have partaken more of the character of private secretary than of anything else. Some of the quæstors were intrusted with the raising of the revenue in the various parts of the Empire. But as there seems no reason for believing that Marcus was at this time absent from the vicinity of Rome, we may be justified in assuming that he was one of those quæstors who bore the title of *candidati principis.* If so, his functions consisted chiefly in reading before the senate the communications which the Emperor had to make to that assembly. Though the responsibility of this position was by no means insignificant for a lad of seventeen, it was probably regarded in his case chiefly as a stepping-stone to something higher. This promotion was not long postponed. In 139, when Antoninus was chosen consul for the third time, the senate appointed his adopted son as his colleague in the consulship.[2] Between his appointment and the 1st of January, 140, when he was to enter upon his consular duties, the

title by which he was known was *consul designatus;* and it was during these months, as we are told by Capitolinus, that Antoninus raised him to the dignity of *seuir turmae.*[3] This position, though essentially an honorary one, was of the utmost im-

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 5: *Octauodecimo ergo aetatis anno adoptatus in secundo consulatu Antonini, iam patris sui, Hadriano ferente gratia aetatis facta quaestor est designatus.*

[2] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 6: *M. Antoninum quaestorem consulem petente senatu creauit;* and Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 6: *Quaestorem et consulem secum Pius Marcum designauit.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 6: *Et seuirum turmis equitum Romanorum iam consulem designatum creauit.*

portance to every young man who aspired to eminence in public life. It will be remembered that when only six years old Marcus had been enrolled among the knights — the body from which all the higher officers in the army and the chief magistrates in the state were chosen. These knights were divided into six *turmae*, or companies, each of which was commanded by an officer called the *sevir turmae;* and it was the custom at Rome, after the time of the Emperor Claudius, to place the probable successor to the throne over one of these six corps immediately upon his entry into public life.[1] It was now that Marcus received the appellation of *Caesar*. On the 1st of January, 140, Marcus's first consulate began. This event was celebrated, as usual, by a solemn procession to the Capitol, where the Emperor and senators joined the consul of the year in the customary sacrifices to Jupiter Capitolinus.[2] The address which Marcus delivered on this occasion before the senate has not been preserved to us; but we learn from some of the letters which passed between him and his instructor that he had devoted a long study to this, his first public effort in oratory,[3] and there is every reason to believe that his endeavors did not remain unrewarded.

Throughout this entire period, and up to the time when he succeeded to the Empire, Marcus's home continued to be with Antoninus. Whether at Lorium or at Lanuvium—whether confined at Rome by the cares of his imperial office, or recreating under the genial influence of the sun of Naples—our young hero was almost constantly an attendant upon his father. Capitolinus tells us that during the twenty-three years he lived with Antoninus they were absent from each

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[1] On this subject see Noël des Vergers, *Essai sur Marc-Aurèle*, p. 21, notes 1 and 2.

[2] A statue was found at Tyndaris, and is now in the Museum at Palermo, which Noël des Vergers (*Essai sur Marc-Aurèle*, p. 19) thinks was consecrated at this time. It represents Marcus as a very young man, clothed in the sacerdotal robes, and presiding at a sacrifice. The inscription on the base runs thus: M. AVRELIO‖VERO. CAESARE. COS‖IMP‖T. AELI. HADRIANI‖ANTONINI. AVG‖PII‖FILIO‖P.P.D.D.

[3] See Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 5, epist. 1.

other but two nights,[1] and throughout that time the Emperor's love for his *protégé* continually grew stronger. Nor was this affection entirely on one side, as is clearly shown in a letter which Fronto wrote to Marcus soon after the death of Antoninus. "Who does not recollect," he writes, "how, when your father was unwell, you remained continually by his side, and refrained from the bath and wine, and did not even indulge in bread or water. You chose your own times neither for waking nor for sleeping, neither for eating nor for exercising. In everything you were governed by your father's needs."[2] Dutiful as Marcus showed himself, however, his obedience was no more than Antoninus was entitled to. It would be safe to say that no father ever did more for his favorite son than Antoninus did for Marcus. Not only did he adopt his nephew and colleague into the bosom of his family, but he found a place there also for Marcus's mother. Just when Domitia Lucilla gave up her house in Rome, from which, according to Capitolinus, Marcus was called away when summoned to the imperial palace,[3] it is difficult to determine. But from the fact that in the correspondence which passed between Marcus and his teacher, Fronto, in 139 and 140, the first years of their acquaintance, frequent messages were conveyed to and from his mother by Marcus, it is evident she had by that time taken up her abode with him.[4] In the same generous home, too, Marcus's married life began. It was a hard struggle that the young man had to undergo in order to make up his mind on this subject. From the days when he first, a little city boy, used to go out to his uncle's country

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 7: *Nec praeter duas noctes per tot annos mansit diuersis uicibus.*

[2] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Ant. Imp.*, lib. 1, epist. 5.

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 5: *De maternis hortis recessit.*

[4] See Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 3, epist. 7 and 8; lib. 5, epist. 3, etc. As Fronto always speaks of Marcus's mother merely as "*domina mater tua*," it is difficult, from any single passage, to be sure whether those words have reference to Domitia Lucilla or to Faustina, Marcus's adoptive mother. Since, however, Fronto continues to use the same expression long after the elder Faustina's death, it seems likely that he always intends to designate by that expression Domitia Lucilla.

houses to pass the summer holidays, he had formed a warm attachment to his pretty little cousin, Faustina. She was only a year or two younger than himself, and, as they roamed over the beautiful hills together, we may picture to ourselves the games in which they figured as husband and wife; how they built their castles in the air, and plighted themselves to travel together through this happy world. In such sports as these the days flew by, until they both began to realize the deep meaning at the bottom of the words they had so lightly uttered. Almost, however, before the youth had been fully aware how earnestly he loved his cousin, the Emperor of Rome had nominated him his successor to the throne, and on one condition—that he should give up his hope of marrying Faustina, and should leave her to become the wife of Lucius Verus. It was a severe blow to him, and he hesitated a long time before accepting the condition. But at last he seems to have yielded. At all events, he had not made known his refusal to comply with the condition when Hadrian died; and when Antoninus assumed the reins of government the young Marcus consented to be adopted as his successor. Now, however, his determination began to waver. Brought into a closer connection than ever with his fair cousin, who was just growing into the most attractive period of womanhood, her charms exerted a stronger influence upon the young man's feelings than they had ever done before. The struggle between his love and duty pressed hard upon him, and at last the former won the day. There were not wanting, moreover, strong arguments in favor of the course which Marcus finally pursued. There did seem an inconsistency in betrothing Faustina to a little boy seven years her junior—one, too, who had never exhibited any marked affection for the young lady to whom he was to be allied. "Besides," we can imagine Marcus arguing with himself, "the Emperor Hadrian had no other reason for desiring the marriage of Lucius with Faustina than that he might insure the boy's accession to the throne. But now there is no need of that. I shall not deprive him of that honor. I shall be all the more zealous to choose him as my colleague, now that he has resigned Faustina to me. Surely,

therefore, I can do Hadrian no wrong in taking her." And thus the matter ended. Antoninus, who loved his *protégé* far more than many fathers love their sons, was only too glad to place Faustina in such noble hands. The little Lucius, who could only have been burdened by the thought that he was bound to marry in the distant future the lady whom Hadrian's policy had selected for him, lent, without the slightest hesitation, a consenting voice. In 140, the year of Marcus's consulship, the marriage of Marcus and Faustina was celebrated, and they continued to live in harmony with their father, Antoninus.[1]

Amidst all these additional duties which his public office and his married life imposed upon him, Marcus did not fail to continue the literary pursuits to which he had devoted him-

[1] There has been considerable divergence of opinion as to the exact date when Marcus's marriage took place. The difficulty arises from a passage in Capitolinus, *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 6, where he enumerates a number of honors which were conferred upon Marcus after he was adopted by Antoninus. Among them, and this he mentions last, he says that Antoninus made him consul a second time. Then, one sentence intervening, in which he speaks of Marcus's literary zeal throughout this period, he adds, "*Post haec Faustinam duxit uxorem.*" Now, since Marcus's second consulship was in 145, we should have to place the marriage after that date unless we suppose that Capitolinus did not intend to include under the word "*haec*" all that he has said above. But this supposition we may justly make; for, while all the other occurrences which he is speaking of took place in 139 or 140, the second consulship did not occur till after an interval of five years, and seems to have been suggested merely by the fact that our biographer has just mentioned the first appointment of Marcus to the consulship. At all events, whether Capitolinus was misinformed or fell into an error in language, we have enough external proofs to show conclusively that the marriage of Marcus took place in 140. Chief among them is a coin of the year 140, on which is represented Antoninus and the elder Faustina seated, with a sceptre in their hands, and below them two other figures joining hands over an altar which is between them. See Eckhel, v. 7, p. 14. Further, in Marcus's letter to Fronto (*Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 5, epist. 45), written in 140, he informs his master that Faustina is now confined; in Fronto's letter (*Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 5, epist. 52), also written in 140, he exclaims, "*Filiam tuam uidi. Videor mihi te simul et Faustinam infantes uidisse.*" And in Marcus's letter (*Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 4, epist. 11) of the same year he speaks of his little girl as "*paruola nostra Faustina.*"

self with such diligence in his boyhood's days. Capitolinus gives us a list of his tutors.[1] Among them we find the names of Trosius Aper, Pollio, Eutychius Proculus, and many others who were celebrated as teachers of the rudiments of Greek and Latin. As the boy grew up, however, it became necessary for his father to find more advanced masters for him. Two of these, in particular, exerted a deep influence, not only upon Marcus's education, but upon his moral growth. They were Herodes Atticus, the celebrated Greek rhetorician, and Cornelius Fronto, his rival in Latin oratory. The former, a native of Marathon, and a man of great wealth, was born about 104. At an early age he had moved to Rome, and before the death of Hadrian had already won a wide reputation as a teacher of Greek oratory. The Emperor Antoninus therefore engaged him, probably about the time of his accession to the throne, as an instructor for his adopted son.[2] The other, Cornelius Fronto, won a still firmer hold upon his pupil's affections, and from their life-long correspondence with each other we are enabled to gain a more intimate knowledge of the character of Marcus than we possess in the case of any other Roman emperor. Fronto was considerably older than Herodes, having been born at Cirta, in Numidia, during the reign of Domitian. Like Herodes, he had come to Rome before the death of Hadrian, and had gained so great a reputation as an orator and pleader that he was compared by his contemporaries with Cicero.[3] It is difficult to feel that Fronto deserved quite so much renown as the scholars of his time granted him. In fact, the taste of the age had become very degenerate; rhetoric had developed into an art which offered little field either for genius or for originality. With Fronto eloquence consisted chiefly in the selection of proper words, and he looked with the greatest favor upon those who followed most servilely the writers of antiquity. His letters abound

[1] See Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 2 and 3.

[2] In the year 139 Herodes had already begun his duties. See Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 3, epist. 2 and 3.

[3] See the excellent article on Fronto, by M. L. A. Gaston Boissier, in the *Revue des deux mondes*, v. 74, pp. 671–98.

in subtile distinctions of synonyms, and present a style which is both over-refined and affected. But, notwithstanding this unfortunate characteristic of his writings, there is something in the man which cannot fail to impress us favorably. When we succeed in getting beneath the superficiality of his style, we discover a heart by no means lacking in noble qualities. In one of Marcus's letters the young man complains to his tutor that "the sons of kings are always surrounded by a crowd, who, to use the words of Nævius, 'listen, applaud them, and obey.'"[1] This was a charge which Marcus never had occasion to make against Fronto. Indeed, though the latter was often invited to pay long visits at the imperial residence, we find him continually excusing himself on account of sickness or affairs of business. And even when he did allow himself to be prevailed upon by the entreaties of Marcus, his attitude was anything but that of a flatterer. In fact, to the superficial reader of his letters, Fronto usually seems to have treated his young pupil with too great harshness. In his zeal to improve Marcus in what he believed to be the most important art of life, he never permitted the slightest inaccuracy of expression to pass without a severe reprimand. Whatever weaknesses Fronto may have had, it can never be said that he was lacking in the virtue of true independence. His intercourse with Marcus began in 139.[2] The latter was then nearly nineteen years of age, and had just entered public life. It may seem strange to us that under such circumstances he should be found taking up the study of rhetoric with a new instructor. But we must remember that in the times of which we are treating an elegant use of language was regarded as of vital importance to an educated Roman; and it was by no means uncommon for the lectures delivered by the eminent rhetoricians of Rome, of Athens, and of Smyrna to be attended regularly by citizens who were far advanced in life. Moreover, there were special reasons why the person designated as the successor to the

[1] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 2, epist. 10.

[2] See Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 3, epist. 1. This is the first letter that passed between them.

throne should avail himself of every opportunity to acquire the art of oratory. Not only in the senate, but before the people, in the streets of Rome or in the presence of their armies, the emperors were continually called upon to display their abilities as public speakers. These were the motives which induced Antoninus to engage the services of Fronto for his son. To Marcus's natural love of study, therefore, was added the incentive of conscience; and he applied himself at once to his new pursuit with such enthusiasm that the only anxiety expressed by his friends was lest his frail health should be unable to endure the strain of these additional exertions. The method of instruction pursued by Fronto seems, from the beginning, to have assumed a very practical character. From a letter written by Marcus a month or two after he had taken up his new study, it appears that Fronto had suggested to his pupil a dozen similes, which the latter was to expand and apply to cases that actually occurred about him.[1] One of the problems given was as follows: "In the centre of the island called Ænaria there is a lake, and in the lake another island, which, like the first one, is inhabited by men — draw from this a simile." Marcus did not succeed in finding a suitable application for this idea, so he applied to his teacher for aid. Fronto offers the following explanation: "Just as the island Ænaria, in the midst of the sea, receives the buffetings of the waves and wards them off; just as she endures the force of fleets, of robbers, of tempests — and yet within her bosom protects the second isle from every danger and adversity; and just as the second islet, encompassed by the glittering waves, refreshed by health-giving breezes, and enjoying an extensive view over the tranquil waters, shares her protector's joys; so your father endures the troubles and difficulties of the Roman sway, and yet preserves you safe within his breast, an ally of all his dignity and glory, and a participator in his success."[2] In this way Fronto hoped to stimulate the mind of his pupil,

[1] See Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 3, epist. 7.

[2] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 3, epist. 8.

and awake in him the habit of presenting to his hearers a vivid picture of the every-day occurrences of life. He was not, however, content with these elementary exercises. It seems likely that he carried his pupil through very much the same course that our books on rhetoric adopt to-day; and in 145, about the time when he ceased to give his lessons regularly to his pupil, we find him initiating Marcus into the art of pleading. A single instance of his method of instruction in this department will suffice. The following case is offered him: "At the feast of Minerva a certain consul laid aside his toga, and, putting on a coat of mail, joined the young men in a combat with a lion; this, too, before an assembly of the Roman people. The matter was brought to the notice of the censors, before whom the case was argued. Draw up the case and make suggestions."[1]

It must not, however, be supposed that even during those years when Fronto was regularly employed to give instruction to Marcus, their relations towards each other were exclusively those of pupil and teacher. Though, up to the very moment when death brought their intercourse to an end, Marcus always addressed Fronto as "my master," the friendship between them was of the warmest and most confidential nature. Fronto never hesitated to mention any little deficiencies which he thought he saw in his pupil's character, and in return the youthful Marcus often suggested in a modest way the opportunities for improvement which it seemed to him his master was allowing to pass unobserved. In one of the very first letters that we have, we find Marcus, then a boy of eighteen, exhibiting the character of peacemaker between his two instructors, Fronto and Herodes Atticus.[2] The exact nature of their quarrel is unknown; but it appears from Marcus's letter that it was something of a public character. Herodes was a brilliant young man of the world, and from the accounts given us of him by contemporary writers it is known that he often spent portions of his vast wealth in ways

[1] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 5, epist. 22.

[2] See Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 3, epist. 2.

not sanctioned by the laws of Rome. Perhaps it was one of these injuries to the public welfare that he had in the present instance committed. At all events, Fronto, who was one of the foremost pleaders of his time, had been summoned as the counsel for the prosecuting party. When Marcus was made aware of this fact, he was greatly disturbed about it. He did not, to be sure, desire that an offender against the laws should go unpunished, but he was afraid lest Fronto should seize upon this opportunity to give vent to the personal animosity which the success of the gay young Herodes had inflamed in the breast of the pedantic old rhetorician. So Marcus went to Herodes and tried to smooth over their personal enmity by singing the praises of his master. And then he wrote Fronto a long letter, in which he said that he had already won Herodes Atticus over to his love; he therefore urged Fronto to regard any personal hostility that had existed between them as entirely a matter of the past, in order that he might be able to look upon the merits of the present case with a perfectly unprejudiced judgment. It appears that Fronto allowed himself to be persuaded, and that he introduced in his argument nothing which was not of direct importance to a true decision of the case. At any rate, Marcus's efforts were successful in bringing about a reconciliation between his two instructors, and in a later letter we find Fronto speaking of his rival in the highest terms.[1] This was by no means the only occasion on which Marcus undertook the *rôle* of peacemaker. In 144, he wrote a letter to Fronto, in which he urged the latter to aid him in bringing together two of his young friends who had got into some difficulty with each other.[2] So successful were his endeavors to promote a feeling of goodwill among those about him that his master writes, in one of his letters, "But of all your virtues, the one which deserves most to be admired is your faculty of keeping all your friends in a state of harmony—a feat more difficult than it is to tame the savage lions with the cithara."[3] Among the friends with

[1] See Fronto, *Epist. ad L. Ver. Imp.*, lib. 2, epist. 9, written in 165.

[2] See Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 4, epist. 2.

[3] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 4, epist. 1.

whom Marcus was at this time most intimate Capitolinus mentions Seius Fuscianus and Aufidius Victorinus,[1] both of whom were in later life made senators; he also showed a particular liking for two other young men of the equestrian order, who, however, never found their way into the senate: these were Bæbius Longus and Calenus.[2] In company with them he took the scanty recreation which he allowed himself from his official duties and from his studies. At Lorium, at Lanuvium, or on the heights that overlook the Bay of Naples, he delighted to have his friends about him. And whenever he found it possible to join them in their sports, no one entered into the enjoyment of the hour with more zest than he. Though Marcus's love for philosophy drew him away to a great extent from out-door recreation, and rendered him serious and thoughtful, it did not destroy his natural affability —an affability always present in his dealings, not only with his friends, but with every one with whom he came in contact. He was virtuous, but no hypocrite; retiring, but not diffident; and serious, without being gloomy.[3] Every little incident was full of interest for him; and it is on this account that the vivid pictures which he often gives his master of his private country life are so pleasing. In one of his letters, written from Naples in 143, he tells his tutor this story: "After my father had returned from the vineyards to his palace, I followed my usual custom and took a ride on horseback. I had not gone far, when a large flock of sheep appeared in the middle of the road. It was a lonely spot; and here were these sheep, with two shepherds and four dogs. As soon as the shepherds saw us on our horses, one of them said to the other, 'Take care, now; these mounted fellows are often robbers.' I overheard what he said, and spurred my horse at once right into the midst of the sheep. The whole flock scampered away in fright and confusion, bleating, and scattering in all direc-

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 3: *Amauitque e condiscipulis praecipuos senatorii ordinis Seium Fuscianum et Aufidium Victorinum.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 3.

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 4: *Cum frugi esset sine contumacia, uerecundus sine ignauia, sine tristitia grauis.*

tions. One of the shepherds then threw his stick at me, but it missed me and struck one of the servants, who was behind me. Then we dashed away at full speed; and the poor shepherd, who had feared the loss of his entire flock, escaped without losing anything but his stick."[1] On another occasion he writes from his father's villa at Lanuvium: "After we bade you good-bye we had rather a comfortable drive, though we were sprinkled a little with the rain. We did not come directly to the villa, but took a short excursion of about a mile, to Anagnia. This ancient town is now of little importance, but it contains a great many relics of antiquity, especially in sacred monuments and religious souvenirs. There is not a corner to be found which does not boast of some sanctuary, some chapel, or a temple. And there are also here a number of sacred chronicles. Upon leaving the town we saw engraved on both sides of the gate these words: *Flamen Sume Samentum.* I asked one of the men in the town what this meant, and he told me the words were in the old dialect of Latium, being a direction to the priest, when he entered the gates, to place on his head the little piece of sacrificial hide which has been honored by tradition in the annals of the town. A great deal of other information, too, we were fortunate enough to obtain. Indeed, we had but a single cause of regret—that you were absent."[2] A few days later he writes again to Fronto from Lanuvium: "This morning I got up at three o'clock, and, after a good breakfast, studied till eight. I then took a delightful two hours' promenade on the veranda in front of my window; after that I put on my shoes, and, dressed in my military cloak (for the Emperor has told us always to come thus dressed when we appear before him), went to bid good-morning to my father. Then we all started for the chase, and some splendid shots were made. There was a rumor that some one had killed a boar, but I didn't have the privilege of seeing the performance. At any rate, we scaled a very rugged cliff. About noon the party came straggling back to the pal-

[1] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 2, epist. 12.

[2] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 4, epist. 4, written in 144.

ace—I to my books. The entire afternoon I passed on my couch, divested of my shoes and robe. Cato's oration on the property of Pulchra and another of his on appointing a tribune were the books I read. . . . Now I am going to bed. Not a drop of oil shall I pour into my lamp to-night, my horse and the cold I've taken have so fatigued me. Good-night, my dear, sweet master. It is for you I long, believe me, far more than for Rome herself."[1] The rapidity with which Marcus's letters to Fronto followed each other during this period shows what a warm affection the pupil had for his old master. When he was away from the city in his father's villas, Marcus used to write often two or even three letters a day to Fronto.[2] It was probably only a day or two after the above letter was written that he gives his master the following description of his life at Lanuvium: "I slept late this morning on account of my cold, which seems now to be quieted; so I did not begin my studies till five o'clock, from which time till nine I spent on Cato's *Agriculture* and in writing—not so much, however, as I wrote yesterday. Then I gargled my throat, and after that went to greet my father and attend him as he offered sacrifice. Then to breakfast; and what do you suppose I ate? Nothing but a little piece of bread, though I saw the others all devouring beans and onions and fish. Then we went out to the vintage, and grew hot and merry, but left a few grapes still hanging, as the old poet says, 'atop on the topmost bough.' At noon we came home again, and I studied a little, though with poor success. Then I chatted a long time with my mother, as she was sitting on her couch. My conversation consisted of, 'What do you suppose my Fronto is doing at this moment?' to which she answered, 'And my Gratia,[3] what is she doing?' and then I, 'And our little birdie, Gratia the less?'[4] And while we were talking and quarrelling as to which of us loved you all the best, the gong sounded—the signal that my father had gone over to the bath. So we bathed and dined in the oil-press room. I

[1] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 4, epist. 5.

[2] See Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 3, epist. 13.

[3] Fronto's wife.

[4] Fronto's little daughter.

don't mean that we bathed in the press-room, but we bathed, and then dined, and amused ourselves with listening to the peasants' banter. And now that I am in my room again, before I roll over and snore, I am fulfilling my promise, and giving an account of my day to my dear tutor; and if I could love him better than I do I would consent to miss him even more than I miss him now. Take care of yourself, my best and dearest Fronto, wherever you are. The fact is that I love you, and you are far away."[1]

Can we fail, in reading these letters, to be touched by the warmth of affection which the young Marcus at all times displays for his old master? He seems to be unable to enjoy fully the pleasures which surround him until he has communicated them to Fronto. Nor could he find happiness in anything so long as he knew that Fronto, or any one else dear to him, was in grief. A number of his letters were written to Fronto when the latter was suffering from the gout, and in all of them the sympathy with which he enters into his master's troubles is really striking.[2] His own afflictions, however, whether of body or mind, he conceals even from his dearest friends; and, when that is no longer possible, he treats them as if they were mere transient inconveniences, or, rather, as opportunities granted him in order that he may prove his superiority to the ills of nature. In one letter, written when he was suffering from a severe inflammation of the lungs, he remarks, cheerfully, "I should feel ashamed if I allowed my courage to fail while yet my body is able to endure the shock of sickness."[3] Marcus's patience with the faults of others, too, is everywhere visible in his writings. We have already referred to the oration which he was called upon to deliver before the senate on entering upon his consulship; and we have letters written to him by his nervous old master, who kept continually worrying him about the matter, recommending, first this alteration, and then that addition, until the poor

[1] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 4, epist. 6.

[2] See, for example, Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 1, epist. 2, written in 145.

[3] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 4, epist. 8.

boy's feelings must have been worked up to an intense pitch of confusion and excitement. At last the fidgety Fronto writes to him to be sure and not study late at night, but to sleep a long time, in order that he may be in a good condition for his oration.[1] Marcus's reply is full of sweetness, and yet not without a touch of humor. It is simply, "*Ego te numquam satis amabo; dormiam.*"[2] This art of making every one about him happy, which Marcus possessed to such an unusual degree, must have been often tried to the utmost in the home in which he lived. It would scarcely be possible to find a family anywhere which, from the natural disposition of its members, would give us reason to expect such discord as the family of Antoninus. It has been often said that no house is large enough for more than a single family. In this case, however, not only did Marcus and his wife reside under the same roof with Antoninus and the elder Faustina, but Marcus's mother and the young Lucius Verus were also members of the household. There must, too, have been such an entire dissimilarity of character between Marcus's mother and the elder Faustina that it is really strange we never hear of the slightest difficulty between them. Undoubtedly, the harmony which prevailed in their family circle was due chiefly to the prudent foresight of Antoninus. But I cannot help believing that many a family jar was averted solely by the gentle manners of Marcus and by his willingness to yield to the claims of other members of the family. It was only for a short time, however, that the family remained so large. Three years after his accession to the throne Antoninus lost his wife;[3] and Marcus's unselfish efforts were now directed to consoling him in his affliction. This was no easy task; for, notwithstanding the evil rumors which history has given us of the elder Faustina, she remained to the last the dearest object of her husband's affections. As late as 143, two years after she had passed away,

[1] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 5, epist. 1.

[2] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 5, epist. 2.

[3] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 6: *Tertio anno imperii sui Faustinam uxorem perdidit.* See, also, Eckhel, v. 4, p. 73, and v. 7, p. 39; Gruter, p. 261, *no.* 3; and Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 141.

Antoninus did not cease to mourn for her; and in a sudden outburst of grief he writes to Fronto, "O God! I would rather live with her an exile in Gyara than without her in the palace."[1]

Meanwhile, the young Lucius Verus was receiving his education under the auspices of his adoptive father. Born in 130, he was only eight years old when Hadrian died; but even at that early age he began to display the characteristics which had marked his father. His adoption by Antoninus brought him, of course, more completely under the moral influence of Marcus. But the difference in their ages prevented Marcus from making him his companion, either in his recreation or in his studies; so that their relation towards each other was not so intimate as, for the benefit of Lucius, we might wish. As he grew older, and was exposed to the temptations of youth, Lucius did not succeed in giving his father entire satisfaction. Capitolinus tells us that though he did not make himself conspicuous by his vices, yet neither did he abound in virtue.[2] His leading trait was his love of all kinds of fun and pleasure. In good-fellowship and humor, too, he was by no means deficient. To the boy's education Antoninus seems to have given quite as much attention as he had given to that of Marcus; not, however, with so satisfactory a result. Lucius was provided with instructors in Greek and Latin grammar; and, when he became old enough to take up more advanced studies, Herodes Atticus and Fronto were summoned to teach him oratory. He even devoted himself somewhat to philosophical pursuits, and attended the lectures of Apollonius and Sextus.[3] For all of these teachers he acquired a good deal of affection, and, though he was by no means gifted with literary talents, his pleasant, boyish ways drew from them a feeling of affection in return. As a boy he displayed a fancy for composing verses, but, as time went on, the writing of orations attracted more of his attention. In neither of these lines, however, was his progress very remark-

[1] Fronto, *Epist. ad Ant. Pi.*, epist. 2.

[2] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 1: *Quem constat non inhorruisse uitiis, non abundasse uirtutibus.*

[3] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 2.

able. Of the two, he was said to have been a better orator than poet; but Capitolinus thinks it nearer the truth to describe him as not quite so poor an orator as he was a poet.[1] When fourteen years of age he assumed the virile robe; and from Fronto's criticism of the oration which the boy delivered on this occasion, I am inclined to suspect that Lucius was not such a fool as some of his contemporaries describe him. Fronto's letter to Marcus runs: "Your brother's oration delighted me. It was eloquent and spirited, and I know he could have had but a short time in which to get it ready."[2] It was not till several years later, probably in 153, that Lucius attained to the office of quæstor, and in 154 he was promoted, along with Sestilius Lateranus, to the consulship.[3] Lucius was of a peculiar disposition. I cannot help believing that he possessed a good deal of ability, but he lacked the power of application. Whenever he could be induced to undertake any occupation there was no fault to be found with him. It was during the intervals that his conduct was chiefly blameworthy. After retiring from the consulship he seems to have spent several years in private life. His name was seldom heard in public, and no title was ever granted him until his accession to the throne.[4] It should be mentioned, however, that he was throughout this period a conspicuous devotee of the race-course and the gladiatorial sports. His manner of life was a severe disappointment to Antoninus. Capitolinus says the latter was so displeased with the habits of Verus that he would not have kept him in his family had it not been for the promise he had made to Hadrian.[5] As it was,

[1] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 2: *Et melior quidem orator fuisse dicitur quam poeta, immo, ut uerius dicam, peior poeta quam rhetor.*

[2] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 5, epist. 38.

[3] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 10: *Verum Antoninum post quaesturam consulem fecit;* and Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 3: *Post quaesturam statim consul est factus cum Sestilio Laterano.*

[4] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 3: *Nec aliud ei honorificentiae ad nomen adiunctum est quam quod Augusti filius appellatus est.*

[5] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 3: *Hic cum tantis deliciarum et luxuriae quateretur erroribus, ab Antonino uidetur ob hoc retentus quod eum pater ita in adoptionem sibi transire iusserat ut nepotem appellaret.*

he contented himself with urging him continually to imitate the example of his brother Marcus.

The contrast between the life of Marcus during these years of probation and that of his future colleague is certainly very striking. While Lucius was letting the years slip by in idleness or in attendance upon the gladiatorial sports at Rome, his brother was in the very centre of his country's politics, preparing for the time when the entire burden of the Empire was to be transferred from his father's shoulders to his own. The weight, however, of his public duties was slight when compared with his domestic griefs and the mental struggle that he was passing through. It was a good many years ago that he, a little boy of twelve, had first become fired with a longing to imitate the life of the grand old Stoic, Zeno. That had been a mere ephemeral passion of his childhood, and by the judicious treatment of his mother it had been soon subdued. But it was none the less prompted by an inclination which had its roots in the inmost nature of the boy. And though his zeal for philosophy was for several years stifled by the efforts of Antoninus, it was certain to break out some day with greater force than ever. Indeed, it can hardly be supposed that Antoninus desired to deprive his son of that study which he must have felt to be the noblest pursuit of man. He probably was fully aware that such an attempt was certain in the end to fail. He knew the time must come when the problem of his existence would present itself in all its vividness to the young man's mind; but he saw that in Marcus's case this problem was likely to present itself before his mind was strong enough for its solution, and he therefore wisely sought to save his *protégé* from the danger, or, at all events, the unhappiness, of groping in the dark, until the instrument with which he was to find his way should become strong enough for that purpose. For several years the exquisite phrases of his master, Fronto, had succeeded in concealing from Marcus the emptiness of the thoughts that lay beneath them. But at last the light burst through, and Fronto's rhetoric was exposed before him in all its nakedness. It was towards the close of 145, while Marcus was in his second con-

sulship,[1] that Fronto, who at that time was engaged in instructing his pupil in the art of pleading, sent him the following case for his consideration: "M. Lucilius, tribune of the people, committed a free citizen of Rome to prison, of his own authority, and after the man had been acquitted by Lucilius's colleagues; whereupon Lucilius was reprimanded by the senators. Divide the case into pleadings, and submit arguments *pro* and *con*."[2] This letter made a deep, and not very favorable, impression on the young man's mind. He had long been asking himself whether, after all, oratory, the art of clothing one's thoughts in an attractive dress, was a pursuit worthy of a Roman emperor. And in the few spare moments which he occasionally succeeded in saving to himself, he had devoured with eagerness one or two books that seemed to satisfy the craving of his soul. Chief among these was a work of Ariston, the Stoic philosopher, who, as Lactantius tells us, taught that "*ad uirtutem capessendam nasci homines.*" From this book our hero learned to feel more strongly every day the utter worthlessness of any action which did not have virtue as its aim. And now his master's letter came, recommending him to prove a certain course of conduct wrong, and then to turn about and offer arguments in its favor. This was more than the young man's conscience could endure. Overwhelmed with the thought of how little he had yet accomplished in this life, he threw himself on his couch and wrote to Fronto the last letter which is preserved to us of those written before his accession to the throne. The letter reads as follows: "I am now deep in the work of Ariston

[1] Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 46–7. [2] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 5, epist. 27.

—a book that renders me at times pleased, and then, again, disgusted, with myself; pleased, when it teaches me to be virtuous, and disgusted, when it shows me how far I am yet from the models of virtue which it lays before me. Ah! how your pupil grows red with shame as he reflects that he is now twenty-five years of age, and that these pure, these noble thoughts have not yet impressed themselves upon his soul. I feel the scourge of punishment, I grow angry with myself, I envy other men, and in my moroseness I crave for nourishment. It is because my mind has been fettered by such thoughts as these that I have put off from day to day the study of the case which you presented to me. But now I will devise some arguments; I will, for a little space, allow Ariston to sleep in quiet, and, following the suggestion of the Athenian orator who said that even the laws must be allowed to sleep at times, I will turn to the subjects which you recommend. To assume the position, however, of pleader both *pro* and *con*—Ariston will never sleep so soundly as to permit me to do that. Goodbye, my noble, my respected master."[1] This was but the first expression which Marcus gave to the struggle that was going on within him. The ascendency which Fronto had gained over him was now perceptibly on the wane, and the decline in esteem with which he regarded that celebrated man was hastened through the influence of another scholar with whom Marcus about this time became associated. This was the austere Stoic, Q. Junius Rusticus—a person whose brusque manners often caused the gentle Marcus to lose his temper,[2] but to whom, in later life, he looked back with feelings of deep gratitude. "From Rusticus," he says, "I received the impression that my character required improvement and discipline; and from him I learned not to be led astray to sophistic emulation, nor to writing on speculative matters, nor to delivering little hortatory orations, nor to showing myself off as a man who practises much discipline, or does benevolent acts in order to make a display; and to abstain from rhetoric, and poe-

[1] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 4, epist. 13, written at the beginning of 146.

[2] *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 17.

try, and fine writing."[1] But the greatest benefit which Rusticus conferred upon our hero was in making him acquainted with the discourses of Epictetus, "the noblest of Pagan slaves." Under such influences as these it is not strange that the gilded oratory of Fronto lost its charm, nor that Marcus's love for philosophy grew more ardent every day. As his zeal in this pursuit increased, new teachers were summoned from all parts of the Empire; and, though he esteemed Rusticus more highly than the rest, and communicated to him all his plans, whether of a public or of a private nature,[2] yet he attended the lectures of several others with the utmost regularity. In the choice of his instructors he exercised a liberal discretion, and among them many shades of thought were represented. "Their doctrines differed, however, rather in the metaphysical than in the moral aspect. All, by their lessons as well as by their example, aided in imparting to him the same tranquillity of soul, the same virtues in his social life. The quality which, above all others, Marcus loved to remember in his teachers — the characteristic which, more than any other, he sought to imitate — was their calm serenity in the midst of every vicissitude of fortune, their gentle dignity, their resignation, their humility, and their readiness to pardon or to serve."[3] The precepts of Apollonius, the Stoic philosopher whom Antoninus called from Chalcis, were "freedom of will and undeviating steadiness of purpose; and to look to nothing else, not even for a moment, except to reason; and to be always the same, in sharp pains, on the occasion of the loss of a child, and in long illness."[4] By Sextus of Chæronea, grandson of Plutarch, Marcus tells us he was made familiar with "a benevolent disposition, and the example of a family governed in a fatherly manner, and the idea of living conformably to nature; and gravity, without affectation, and to look carefully after the interests of friends, and to tolerate ignorant persons, and those who form opinions without consider-

[1] *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 7.

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 3: *Cum quo omnia communicauit publica priuataque consilia.*

[3] Suckau, *Étude sur Marc-Aurèle*, p. 29.

[4] *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 8.

ation."[1] From Alexander the Platonist he learned "not frequently, nor without necessity, to say to any one, or to write in a letter, that he had no leisure; nor continually to excuse the neglect of duties required by our relation to those with whom we live, by alleging urgent occupations."[2] Cinna Catulus, a Stoic who instructed Marcus in philosophy, taught him "not to be indifferent when a friend finds fault, even if he should find fault without reason, but to try to restore him to his usual disposition."[3] From Claudius Severus, the Peripatetic, whom he calls his brother, he says, "I received the idea of a polity in which there is the same law for all, a polity administered with regard to equal rights and equal freedom of speech, and the idea of a kingly government which respects most of all the freedom of the governed."[4] Finally, he tells us that he learned from his instructor, Claudius Maximus, "self-government, and not to be led aside by anything; and cheerfulness in all circumstances, as well as in illness; and a just admixture, in the moral character, of sweetness and dignity, and to do what was set before him without complaining."[5] We cannot fail to notice in these extracts from Marcus's *Thoughts* how little weight he placed upon the metaphysical distinctions insisted on by his several teachers. There can be no doubt that such questions entered very deeply into the instructions which they furnished him. But they did not form the subject of philosophy, as it presented itself to his understanding. I do not mean that he entirely disregarded the metaphysical doctrines of his teachers; we shall see later on that such was by no means the case; but he held this portion of philosophy to be of very inferior importance to the deeper problems of morality and religion. And in this latter aspect of philosophy he had a teacher who far surpassed all those that have just been enumerated—I mean his father, Antoninus. The truest philosophy may be attained in more ways than one. Reason is not the only instrument that God has

[1] *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 9. [2] *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 12. [3] *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 13.

[4] *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 14. Claudius Severus was a brother of Marcus in that his son, also named Claudius Severus, married Marcus's daughter, Cornificia. See Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 3, p. 247. [5] *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 15.

given us for arriving at the truth. And I cannot help feeling the justice of Renan's observations when he contrasts the philosophy of the Emperor with that of his even more illustrious son. "Simple, loving, full of sweet gayety, Antoninus was a philosopher without saying so, almost without knowing it. Marcus was a philosopher in sincerity and by nature, but he became such by reflection."[1]

There was one disadvantage under which Marcus labored in all his philosophical pursuits; and this, too, a misfortune which pressed more heavily upon him as the years rolled by. From his earliest childhood he had shown a tendency to physical weakness, and though his governors and friends did everything they could to counteract this tendency, the defect in his constitution was scarcely remedied at all. It cannot be denied, too, that he was very injudicious in his manner of life. With a strange inconsistency of purpose he allowed his zeal for moral improvement to serve as an excuse for neglecting the laws of health; and, like many other noble men, before and since, he failed to keep in mind the injury he was thereby inflicting upon his descendants. In his letters to Fronto we scarcely ever find mention of his ill-health; but from the continual exhortations which his master made him, to attend more conscientiously to his physical duties, it is evident that his constitution had begun at an early age to weaken. The authority which his mother had been called upon to exercise over him when a boy of twelve has been mentioned. Her watchful care of him continued for several years after he was nominated successor to the throne. She remained his guardian even after he was married, and passed the later years of her life in the imperial residence with him. Had it not been for her unselfish efforts in his behalf there is good reason to believe that an early death would have deprived the Roman world of the noblest figure in its long line of sovereigns. The relation between Marcus and his mother was always of the most tender, the most loving nature; and he scarcely ever ends a letter to Fronto without sending some little message

[1] Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 2.

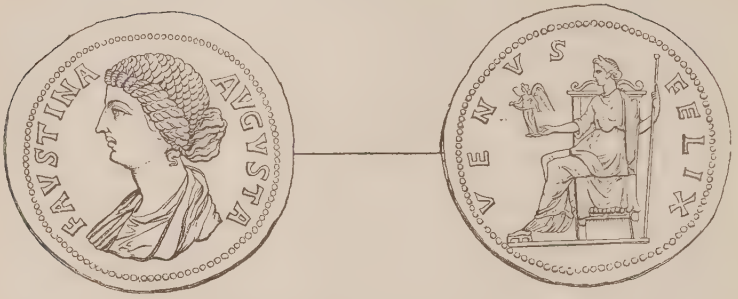
of affection from his mother. Exactly how long the influence of her gentle society was granted him we cannot determine; but he tells us himself that she died while still young,[1] and from his letters to Fronto it is plain that he lost her between the year 146 and his accession to the throne.[2] Her death must have been a heavy blow to the young man. However, her place was at this time in part filled by his wife, Faustina,[3] of whom, in spite of the evil rumors that history has connected with her name, her husband says, "To the gods I am indebted that I have such a wife, so obedient, so affectionate, and so simple."[3] Their love for each other was still further strengthened by the numerous children which Faustina bore him; and several coins representing Faustina with a dove, and bearing the inscription *Concordia* or *Venus Felix*, attest the felicity of their union. Marcus was not, however, spared the pangs of domestic affliction. One after another, the little children whom Faustina bore him were carried to the grave,[4] and with

[1] *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 17.

[2] In Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 4, epist. 13, Marcus sends, as usual, the remembrance of his mother to Fronto. This letter, written in 146, is the last one preserved to us of those written when Marcus was a young man. The next one we have was written after an interval of fifteen years. See Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Ant. Imp.*, lib. 2, epist. 2. But in these later letters no mention is ever made of Marcus's mother.

[3] *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 17.

[4] Unfortunately, it is not possible to give an accurate statement of the dates when each of Marcus's children was born and died. As far as our knowledge extends, however, the following observations will be found true: The first child was born in 140; for in Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 5, epist. 45, written in 140, Marcus informs his instructor that Faustina is confined. This child was a girl, as appears from Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 5, epist. 52, also written in 140, in which Fronto exclaims, "*Filiam tuam uidi. Videor mihi te simul et Faustinam infantes uidisse.*" In Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 4, epist. 11, written in 140, she is called "*paruola nostra Faustina;*" and she is mentioned again in Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 5, epist. 30. Her name in full was Domitia Faustina, and she died before her father became emperor, as is proved by her epitaph,



each new death the love of Marcus for her who was his sympathizer in affliction became more warm. "Thus the domestic joys of Marcus were by no means unmingled with domestic

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found in the mausoleum of Hadrian, where she is spoken of as "*M. Aurelii Caesaris filia.*" See Jean Mabillon, *Analecta uetera*, Paris., 1675–85, 4v. 8°. p. 363; Gruter, p. 260, *no.* 13; Orelli, *no.* 872; and Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 5, p. 433. The second daughter that Faustina bore was Annia Lucilla. Her name is given in full in Mionnet, *Descrip. de méd. antiq.*, v. 1, p. 379, *no.* 107. The exact date of her birth is not known, but that she was one of the earliest-born children is evident from Herodian., *Hist.*, lib. 1, c. 8: Λουκίλλα ἣν τῷ Κομμόδῳ πρεσβυτάτη πάντων ἀδελφή; also Herodian., *Hist.*, lib. 1, c. 6; but these passages must not be understood to mean that she was the first-born child, merely that she was the eldest of the sisters living after Commodus's birth. Of Lucilla's later life we shall have more to say hereafter. The daughter next in age to Lucilla was Fadilla. Herodian., *Hist.*, lib. 1, c. 13, in speaking of a period subsequent to Lucilla's death, says that Fadilla was the eldest of Commodus's sisters: Ἡ δὲ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν Κομμόδου ἀδελφῶν (φαδίλλα ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῇ). Fadilla is also mentioned as a daughter of Marcus in two inscriptions given in Muratori, *Nouus thesaur. uet. insc.*, p. 242, *no.* 3, and p. 590, *no.* 4. One more daughter was born before Marcus ascended the throne. Her name was Cornificia, and she is mentioned in Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Ant. Imp.*, lib. 1, epist. 1, written in 161. In addition to these daughters there were two boys, as is proved by epitaphs in Mabillon, *Analect. uet.*, v. 4, pp. 500–1; and in Pagi, *Critic. hist.-chron.*, v. 1, p. 176, c. 3. Their names were T. Aurelius Antoninus and T. Ælius Aurelius. They were both born and died while Marcus was still *Caesar*, and Antoninus Pius as yet without the title *Diuus*. One of them appears to have been born and to have died in 146 or 147; for there is a letter written by Marcus from Lorium, on the 28th of March of his first tribuniciate, in which he thanks the people of Smyrna for congratulating him on the birth of his son, and grieves at

grief. But these sorrows and anxieties merely add something more tender, something more touching, to the affection of the husband and the father. It makes us glad to see these sentiments of true nature by the side of his rigid Stoicism, and to observe the preoccupations of his family life in the midst of an existence consecrated to study and the cares of government."[1]

The period of Marcus's probation is now drawing near its end. From the year 147, when he was granted, for the first time, the title of tribune,[2] he held, to all intents and purposes, the position of Antoninus's colleague in the empire. The public measures enacted by these two joint-rulers have been already considered in this chapter. There remains but one scene more for us to picture before we pass to other subjects. On the 5th of March, 161, in the third consulship of Marcus Aurelius and the second of Lucius Verus, the aged Emperor, worn out by the cares of the day, retired to his chamber at an earlier hour than usual. He had eaten at his dinner some fresh cheese that his servants had recently brought him from Switzerland, and, as a consequence, he was prevented from obtaining rest. The following morning, after a sleepless night, he attempted to go through the usual routine of his daily work; but he soon found himself so overcome with the slight exertions which he had made that he was compelled to retire to his bed. Before night he was prostrated by a violent fever; and, though the best physicians

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the sad issue. The letter is given in Spon, *Misc. erud. ant.*, p. 354; and in Berlin. Akad. der Wiss. *Corp. inscr. Graec.*, *no.* 3176.

[1] Suckau, *Étude sur Marc-Aurèle*, pp. 213–4.

[2] Eckhel, v. 7, p. 47; and Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 147.

were at once summoned, they could offer little remedy to a constitution worn out with age. On the next day, the 7th of March, feeling that he was near his end, he called his prefects about him, and in their presence commended the state and his daughter Faustina to Marcus Aurelius; at the same time commanding that the gold statue of Fortune, which was by custom kept in the bedroom of the emperor, should be transferred from his own apartments to Marcus's room. He then gave the tribune the word *Aequanimitas;* and after that, turning on his side as if in sleep, he breathed his last.[1]

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[1] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 12. Dion Cassius says, lib. 70, c. 3, the death of Antoninus was *ἡδίστην καὶ ἴσον ὕπνῳ τῷ μαλακωτάτῳ.*

Chapter III.

EMPEROR.—LEGISLATION.—THE PARTHIAN WAR. A.D. 161-165.

Thoughts on Death.—Marcus makes Lucius Verus his Colleague.—Revolt in Britain.—King of Parthia Invades the Empire.—Army Sent to the East under Lucius Verus.—Marcus Remains at Rome.—Inundation of the Tiber.—Efforts of Marcus to Alleviate the Distress.—His Activity in the Administration of Justice.—Introduces Changes in the Procedure.—His Imperial Enactments.—Passes Laws in Aid of Slaves.—Advances the Position of Sons and Wives.—Regulations for Probating Births.—Innovations in the Laws of Inheritance.—Enactments in Furtherance of Trade and Agriculture.—Marcus Strengthens the Provincial Senates.—Moderates the Gladiatorial Shows.—Restores the Dignity of the Roman Senate.—Philosophical Studies of Marcus.—His Domestic Relations.—Lucius Verus in the East.—Forces in Charge of Avidius Cassius.—Rout of Vologeses.—Ambitious Schemes of Lucius.—His Return to Rome.

"How small a part of the boundless and unfathomable time is assigned to every man? for it is very soon swallowed up in the eternal. And how small a part of the whole substance? and how small a part of the universal soul? and on what a small clod of the whole earth thou creepest?"[1] "Think of the rapidity with which things pass by and disappear, both the things which are and the things which are produced. For substance is like a river in a continual flow, and the activities of things are in constant change, and the causes work in infinite varieties; and there is hardly anything which stands still. And consider this which is near to thee, this boundless abyss of the past and of the future in which all things disappear."[2]

With such thoughts as these was the mind of Marcus Aure-

[1] *Thoughts*, lib. 12, c. 32.

[2] *Thoughts*, lib. 5, c. 23.

lius filled as he stood by the side of that cold, lifeless form which, from his childhood, had been to him the embodiment of all that was noble, and pure, and godlike. Those stony features represented to him his friend, his father, and his guide. And now the soul which had given expression to them was no longer there. Nature, who, as the philosophy of Heraclitus teaches, is but eternal change, had done her work. The soul of Antoninus had moved away into other spheres, and Marcus Aurelius was left alone, sole emperor of the Roman world.

The duties which had devolved upon him left him little time for reflection upon the past. The present, with her stern commands, was hurrying him onward, and calling upon him for immediate action. With true filial affection he turned first to pay the final honors to his father. In 140 Antoninus had completed the magnificent mausoleum begun by Hadrian for the reception of his own remains, and now forming the substruction to the Castello S. Angelo, near the Vatican, at Rome. In this same tomb Marcus interred his father's body, with all the pomp and ceremony which the superstition of the Roman people demanded; and, as a final tribute to his father's glory, he delivered a funeral oration to the people from the rostrum of the senate.[1] In recognition of his piety the senate ratified the choice which Antoninus had expressed in nominating Marcus as his sole successor. The latter, however, not forgetful of the stipulation made by Hadrian in his adoption of Antoninus, and, moreover, bearing in mind the special obligation under which he had placed himself in taking Faustina for his wife, unhesitatingly accepted Lucius Verus as his colleague in the empire;[2] and thus, for the first time,

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 7: *Et laudauere uterque pro rostris patrem.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 7: *Fratrem sibi participem in imperio designauit;* and Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 3: *Defuncto Pio Marcus in eum omnia contulit, participatu etiam imperatoriae potestatis indulto, sibique consortem fecit, cum illi soli senatus detulisset imperium.* That Verus was associated in the empire before July 25, 161, is evident from the law in Iustinian., *Cod.*, lib. 2, tit. 13, c. 2, which bears the inscription: *Diui fratres Sextiliae. . . . Accepta VIII. kal. Aug. ipsis III. et II. conss.*

the spectacle was furnished of two emperors in joint-occupancy of the Roman throne.

Scarcely had the remains of Antoninus been placed at rest when his successors were called upon to face a number of dangers which threatened to prove disastrous to the state. First of all came the revolt in Britain. This country had been, for nearly a hundred years, since its final subjugation by Agricola in 84, a Roman province. The most northern portion, however, had never submitted to the Roman yoke. As time went on, and the imperial arms began to be more urgently needed in other parts of the Empire, "the masters of the fairest and most wealthy climates of the globe turned with contempt from gloomy hills assailed by the winter tempest, from lakes concealed in a blue mist, and from cold and lonely heaths, over which the deer of the forest were chased by a troop of naked barbarians;"[1] and Hadrian reduced to a still smaller compass his dominions in the North by marking out his boundary in that direction with a wall of turf running from the present Solway Firth to the German Ocean. This line of fortifications proving ineffectual in restraining the incursions of the savage Caledonians, Antoninus Pius, as we have already seen, extended his boundary once more as far as the conquests of Agricola, and erected a rampart of turf from the Forth to the Clyde, the remains of which are still visible between the present cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. All of the island lying south of this Wall of Antoninus constituted the Roman province, which, in the early days of Marcus's reign, broke out in rebellion.[2] The details of this trouble, as furnished us by Marcus's biographer, are very meagre; but from other sources it appears that the difficulty was caused, not by the inhabitants of Britain, but by the soldiers belonging to the legion stationed there.[3] Emboldened by their dis-

[1] Gibbon, *Decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, v. 1, p. 5.

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 8: *Inminebat etiam Britannicum bellum.*

[3] *Dionis excerpta;* edid. Angelo Mai [in his *Scriptorum ueterum noua collectio e Vaticanis codicibus.* Romae, 1825–38. 10v. 4°. v. 2, pp. 135–233], c. 108: "Οτι οἱ ἐν Βρετανίᾳ στρατιῶται Πρίσκον ὑποστράτηγον εἵλοντο αὐτοκράτορα· ὁ δὲ παρῃτήσατο εἰπὼν ὅτι τοιοῦτος ἐγώ εἰμι αὐτοκράτωρ οἷοι

tance from Rome, and roused by the achievements of their illustrious general, Statius Priscus, they undertook to choose him as their leader and to throw off the supremacy of Rome. Their attempt, owing to the loyalty of him whom they desired to make their leader, proved unsuccessful; but it served to make the new emperors aware, at the very beginning of their reign, of the dangers to which they were at all times exposed, even from the most necessary order of their subjects. Statius Priscus was at once recalled, not for the purpose of punishing him, but in order to quiet the ambitions of the soldiers. To whom the administration of Britain was afterwards intrusted is not certain; possibly to Calpurnius Agricola, who, as Capitolinus tells us, was despatched to quell the tumult.[1]

It was almost at the same time with this trouble in Britain that war broke out once more in Parthia. In order more clearly to fix in mind the scene where the Roman arms were displayed with such success in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, it will be well to consult for a moment the map of Western Asia. On so doing it will be observed that the river Halys, which flows into the Euxine, takes its rise at a point not far from a wide bend which the Euphrates makes to the west; and these two rivers, taken together, appear to form a natural boundary to

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ὑμεῖς στρατιῶται ἐστέ. There has been some difference of opinion as to whether or not this Priscus here mentioned was the Statius Priscus who distinguished himself in the Parthian war. The doubt is raised by the fact that in Dion Cassius, lib. 72, c. 9, and lib. 73, c. 4, and also in Spartianus, *Commod. Ant.*, c. 8, we learn that there was another revolt in Britain in the reign of Commodus. But the doubt as to which of the two revolts is referred to in the text is entirely overthrown, and the Priscus there mentioned is identified beyond all question with the Statius Priscus of the Parthian war, by an inscription from which we learn that this Statius Priscus held at one time, in the reign of Marcus and Lucius, the office of proconsul in the province of Britain. The inscription is given in Borghesi's article *Historicorum Graecorum excerpta Vaticana*, in the *Giornale arcadico*, 1829, v. 42, p. 196 (repub. in Borghesi's *Œuvres*, v. 3, p. 249); and also in Noël des Vergers, *Essai sur Marc-Aurèle*, p. 28, note 2.

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 8: *Et aduersus Britannos quidem Calpurnius Agricola missus est.*

the Roman Empire on the east. From the time of Pompey till long after the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the provinces which lay along the western banks of these rivers, viz., the provinces of Bithynia, Galatia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, and Syria, formed the border-line between the Roman Empire and the barbarians beyond. By far the most important power against which the early Roman emperors had to contend in the East was the Parthian Kingdom, which, since the death of Trajan, counted Armenia, in the north, as a part of its dominions, and, therefore, extended almost the entire distance along the eastern banks of the rivers Halys and Euphrates from the Euxine to the Persian Gulf. During the reign of Hadrian and the early portion of Antoninus Pius's supremacy the kingdom of Parthia was governed by Vologeses II., a peaceful ruler, who, awed by the recollection of the punishment recently inflicted on his father, Chosroes, by the Emperor Trajan, was content to maintain his rule without interfering with the Roman provinces west of the Euphrates. In 149, however, he was succeeded by Vologeses III., an ambitious prince, who began soon after his accession to prepare for an invasion of the Roman Empire. From a passage in Capitolinus it seems probable that the Empire was threatened with this danger even during the reign of Antoninus Pius.[1] Vologeses III. waited, however, until after the death of that wise monarch before actually invading the Empire; but immediately upon the accession of Marcus, trusting in the lack of preparation for war which he felt certain would prevail upon a change of rulers, he despatched his forces against the city of Elegia, situated between the Euphrates and the source of the Halys, and not far from the boundary-line between Armenia and the province of Cappadocia. In this city Severianus, who was the Roman legate in Cappadocia, happened to be stationed with one of the legions. He was at once surrounded by the Parthian forces, and, after a siege of three days, the city was taken, and Severianus, with his entire legion, cut

[1] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 12: *Nihil aliud quam de re publica et de his regibus quibus irascebatur locutus est.*

in pieces.[1] From here Vologeses advanced with little interruption into the very heart of Syria, and with such unexpectedness that Attidius Cornelianus, who was at that time governor of Syria, was compelled to flee.[2] The news of this disaster being brought to Rome, Marcus hastened with all possible speed to take such forcible measures as might avert the impending danger. His plan of action was soon determined; but before putting it into practice he laid it before the senate for their ratification. Having obtained their sanction, he proceeded at once to carry out his preparations for an extended war in Syria. When all the preparations had been made, both as regards the levying of the forces and with reference to the necessary provisions for their equipment, the command was given, by the consent of the senate, to Lucius Verus.[3] It has been the subject of much dispute among the biographers of Marcus what were the reasons which induced him to intrust the command, in a war of such vast proportions, to a man who, as he must have known, was by no means equal to the emergency. Capitolinus sums up the various suggestions which he had heard offered as solutions to this question; we read that "some said Verus was sent to the Parthian war in order that his delinquencies might be kept secret from the people at Rome; while others maintained that it was with the hope of improving the character of Verus himself, by teaching him economy, by inspiring him with the terrors of war, or by impressing him with the fact of his responsibility as Roman Emperor."[4] Dion Cassius gives another reason for Marcus's placing the army in charge of Verus in preference to taking the command in person, viz., that Verus was by nature better fitted than himself for warlike pursuits.[5] This reason, however, apart from the

[1] Lucian., *Alex. seu Pseud.*, c. 27; Lucian., *Quomodo hist. conscrib. sit.*, c. 21; and Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 2.

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 8: *Fugato Attidio Corneliano qui Syriam tunc administrabat.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 8: *Ad Parthicum uero bellum senatu consentiente Verus frater est missus.*

[4] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 5.

[5] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 1: Ὁ δὲ Λούκιος, ἔῤῥωτό τε καὶ νεώτερος ἦν, τοῖς

fact that it is shown by later history not to be true, can scarcely be supposed to have had much weight with an emperor of such mature judgment as Marcus. To be sure, Lucius's physical constitution was better adapted than that of his brother for undergoing hardship and fatigue; but that fact alone would surely influence no one in deciding on the comparative merits of the two as generals. The fact was, as Capitolinus justly remarks, that Marcus felt his own presence imperatively demanded by the condition of things at home.[1] He therefore despatched his most trustworthy generals to the war; and, in order that the army might be encouraged in its exertions by the presence of an emperor, he sent off the troops to the East under the nominal command of Lucius. Before the departure of the latter he betrothed to him his daughter Annia Lucilla, then about fourteen years of age. He then accompanied Lucius on his way as far as Capua.[2] At this point the Emperors parted, and Marcus returned to Rome. Lucius, however, did not hurry to the seat of war. He journeyed leisurely through Southern Italy, feasting at the villas which he passed along the road. Indeed, so far did he carry this luxurious mode of life that at Canusium he was taken sick, and was compelled to send for Marcus to come and see him.[3] Marcus went at once.[4] The patient soon recovered; and at length, much to the joy of all concerned, the sphere of his activity was transferred from Italy to the provinces in the East.

στρατιωτικοῖς τε ἔργοις καταλληλότερος. Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, lib. 12, c. 2, expresses the same view.

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 8: *Ipse Romam remansit, quod res urbanae imperatoris praesentiam postularent.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 8: *Et Verum quidem Marcus Capuam usque prosecutus amicis comitantibus a senatu ornauit, additis officiorum omnium principibus.*

[3] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 6: *Cumque inde per omnium uillas se ingurgitaret, morbe inplicitus apud Canusium aegrotauit. quo ad eum uisendum frater contendit.*

[4] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 8: *Sed cum Romam redisset Marcus cognouissetque Verum apud Canusium aegrotare, ad eum uidendum contendit susceptis in senatu uotis.* See also Fronto, *Epist. ad L. Ver. Imp.*, lib. 2, epist. 6.

On his return to Rome, Marcus found himself utterly worn out by the cares which had devolved upon him. He was in need of rest; but rest had never been more difficult to obtain than at the present moment. At last his friends persuaded him to leave Rome, if only for a few days. The annual festivities were about to take place at Alsium, an ancient and remarkably healthy town on the coast of Etruria. These Marcus deemed it wise, though quite contrary to his inclinations, to attend.[1] This was in the autumn of 161. His stay at Alsium was of very short duration. A day or two found him back again at his work in Rome. He now began more bitterly than ever before to grieve for the noble father he had lost. The firm hand which had hitherto borne him up in all his trials was now sadly missed. Each day his anxieties seemed to press more heavily upon him, and at times even his philosophy refused him consolation. On one of these occasions he writes the following letter to his old master, Fronto, with all the affection of fifteen years before: "I have read a little of Cœlius and Cicero's oration, but only by snatches, as it were, and, I assure you, very hastily; with such rapidity does one care press upon another. My only rest is in taking a book into my hands during the rare moments of leisure which intervene. . . . Send me some book to read—whatever you deem best—either of your own, or of Cato, or Cicero, or Sallust, or Gracchus; for I need rest, and most of all this kind of rest. I need some book to lessen the weight of my anxieties and make me forget them."[2] A few days later, but still before the close of the year 161, he writes from the villa at Lorium: "While enjoying this pure country air, my master, I cannot but feel anxious to know whether you are well. Set my mind at rest, I pray you, on this matter. As for my sojourn in the country, it is by no means free from the cares of government. We lead here the life of Rome. Indeed, the duties which rest upon me compel me to

[1] See the letters in his correspondence with Fronto entitled *De feriis Alsiensibus.*

[2] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Ant. Imp.*, lib. 2, epist. 1.

cut short this letter. Often they prey upon the hours which should be given to sleep." [1]

Perhaps the most serious difficulty that he was called upon at this time to meet was the inundation of the Tiber, which occurred in the spring of 162. This, according to the historians of the time, was the most disastrous overflow of the Tiber ever known.[2] It carried away many houses in the city, and destroyed large numbers of the herds that usually found pasture on the surrounding plains. The natural result was that upon the subsiding of the waters a terrible famine spread throughout the most populous portion of Italy. The misery attendant thereon was, to a great extent, alleviated by the exertions of Marcus, who at this time undertook vast improvements in the distribution of food to the needy.[3] It will be remembered by every student of Roman history that as far back as the times of the Republic it was the custom for corn, oil, and wine to be distributed to the poor at the public expense. The officers appointed to render this assistance were usually called *quaestores alimentorum;* and the distributions, or *congiaria*, were not made at any stated times, but were left, in great measure, at the discretion of these quæstors. This method of rendering assistance to the poor was unsatisfactory for two reasons. In the first place, the quæstors, who were often men of quite inferior character, and who were scarcely responsible to any one for the faithful discharge of their duty, in many cases abused the power intrusted to them, so that the money intended for the relief of the poor was not ultimately used for that purpose. The chief objection, however, to the system of public charity which prevailed in the early times of the Empire was that the donations were confined to those who were of age, so that if any children were so unfortunate as to be orphans, there was great danger of their starving. These faults were remedied to some extent

[1] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Ant. Imp.*, lib. 2, epist. 4.

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 8: *Sed interpellauit istam felicitatem securitatemque imperatoris prima Tiberis inundatio quae sub illis grauissima fuit.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 11: *Italicis ciuitatibus famis tempore frumentum ex urbe donauit omnique frumentariae rei consuluit.*

by Nerva; and during his reign and that of his successors it seems that children were admitted to some share in the public charity, and that the quæstors were held to a stricter performance of their duty by being subjected to the supervision of certain *procuratores alimentorum*, who received their appointment directly from the emperor. From the beginning of Marcus's reign, however, we find the supervision of this important work intrusted only to persons of the very highest position in the Empire, men either of consular or of prætorian rank; and they received the designation of *praefecti alimentorum*, instead of the inferior one of *procuratores*, which they had hitherto borne.[1] It is probably to this innovation that Capitolinus alludes when he says, "*De alimentis publicis multa prudenter inuenit.*"[2] With reference, too, to the provision for orphans and poor children, Marcus carried his charitable measures farther than any of his predecessors. The Emperor Trajan had, among the numerous benevolent plans which he carried out, instituted at Rome an establishment for the support of certain poor children, who were called after him, *pueri puellaeque Ulpiani*. Another institution of the same kind, we have also seen, was due to the energy of Antoninus Pius, the inmates of which received the name, in honor of Antoninus's wife, of *Faustiniani*. The object of each of these institutions was not merely to furnish food for needy children; they seem rather to have been homes, in which those who were admitted were brought up and educated entirely at the public expense. It was, of course, impossible for all the needy children in the city to be taken care of in this way; and Marcus, with his usual benevolence, was not slow to perceive the necessity of carrying out this good work on a larger scale. He therefore undertook

[1] On this subject see Henzen's article *De tabula alimentaria Baebianorum*, in Rome. Istit. di corrisp. archeol. *Annal. dell' inst. per l'anno* 1844. Roma, 1844. pp. 39–48; Borghesi's article *Osservazioni intorno i due primi praefecti alimentorum*, in Rome. Istit. di corrisp. archeol. *Bull. dell' inst. per l'anno* 1844. Roma, 1844. pp. 125–7; M. E. Desjardins, *De tabulis alimentariis*. Paris, 1854; and Noël des Vergers, *Essai sur Marc-Aurèle*, pp. 39–42.

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 11.

the foundation of a new asylum for orphan and destitute children, which was probably completed about the time of his daughter's marriage with Lucius Verus; and on account of this marriage the boys who were admitted were called *Veriani* and the girls *Aurelianae*.[1]

In the administration of justice the energy of Marcus Aurelius was especially apparent, not only from the diligence with which he attended personally to cases brought under his notice, but also from several important changes which he introduced. It was a fundamental principle in the Roman Empire that all judicial power was vested in the emperor himself. Since it was impossible for every question of law or fact to be brought before the emperor in person, he delegated various officers in the different parts of his dominions to perform the functions of judges; but it is to be noticed that all such officers, be they consuls, prætors, ædiles, or tribunes, possessed that authority only by virtue of the *imperium* with which they were clothed. The extent to which this judicial power was delegated varied under the different emperors. Some neglected their duties almost entirely, either through laziness or because they were occupied with other matters. As a general rule the emperors confined their own jurisdiction chiefly to the important cases in Rome itself. To the different portions of Italy judges were assigned, with almost unlimited power; while in the provinces the emperor was represented by his *legati*, whose duty it was to decide the

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 7: *Ob hanc coniunctionem pueros et puellas nouorum nominum frumentariae perceptioni adscribi praeceperunt.* The reading *nominum* in place of *hominum* was first suggested by Saumaise in the edition of the *Script. hist. Aug.*, pub. at Lugdun. Bat., 1671. v. 1, p. 318; and followed in the edition of Jordan and Eyssenhardt, Berol., 1864. It is approved by Noël des Vergers in his *Essai sur Marc-Aurèle*, pp. 42–3; and is certainly sanctioned by sound judgment. The expression *noui homines* was scarcely ever used in the times of Marcus Aurelius, when almost all the curule offices were held by *noui homines*. Moreover, it seems hardly likely that the children of those who were *noui homines* could be so destitute as to need assistance from the state. The similarity in form between *h* and *n* accounts for the probable confusion of those letters in this case.

cases of minor importance, and, whenever any doubtful or difficult question arose in their district, to send it to Rome, that it might receive the emperor's consideration. Thus we see that the methods of administering justice which prevailed under the early emperors were very vague; and the difficulty of obtaining a just decision will be still more manifest when we recollect that the mass of undigested law in accordance with which the judges were supposed to render their decisions was so enormous that they were, in fact, left to decide almost entirely at their own discretion. It was, therefore, of the utmost importance for the welfare of his subjects that the emperor, in whom was centred the ultimate power in this vague system, should be prudent as well as diligent in the promotion of justice throughout his realm. This Marcus seems to have felt more clearly than any of his predecessors, and in more than one instance we have records of the remarkable zeal which he displayed in righting those who had been wronged.[1] The number of days in the year on which he was prepared to have cases brought before him he increased to the extraordinary number of two hundred and thirty;[2] and all capital cases in which the defendants were persons of distinction, he judged himself, saying that he deemed it right for all matters of importance to be decided by him who was the representative of the people.[3] Moreover, in every case brought before him, he allowed the pleaders all the time they needed, in order that his decision might be accurate in every part. With this in view he sometimes spent eleven or twelve days on a single case, and often prolonged the investigation till late into the night.[4] Whenever, in a particular case, the ac-

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 10: *Iudiciariae rei singularem diligentiam adhibuit.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 10: *Fastis dies iudiciarios addidit ita ut ducentos triginta dies annuos rebus agendis litibusque disceptandis constituerat.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 24: *Capitales causas hominum honestorum ipse cognouit et quidem summa aequitate, ita ut praetorem reprehenderet qui cito reorum causas audierat, iuberetque illum iterum cognoscere, dignitatis eorum interesse dicens ut ab eo audirentur qui pro populo iudicaret.*

[4] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 6: Τάς τε πύσεις καὶ τὰς ἀνακρίσεις ἐπὶ μακρότερον ἐποιεῖτο, ὥστε πανταχόθεν τὸ δίκαιον ἀκριβοῦν. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἔνδεκα

cused was manifestly guilty, and the law was explicit as to the punishment, he never allowed his decision to be influenced by a feeling of pity for the offender; yet it was his habit never to punish with the full severity of the law, if for any reason the case warranted a lighter penalty.[1] And before pronouncing sentence of death on any subject he invariably referred the case to the senate to be debated in secret, in order that no one might perish by reason of the errors which are always possible when a case is tried before an angry and indignant populace.[2] With a view, too, to obtaining an impartial decision in every case, he gave the senate jurisdiction over many other matters, especially those in which he was himself concerned.[3] In the examination of cases which fell within his own jurisdiction he often put himself to very great inconveniences, in order that the litigant parties might have every opportunity to prove the merits of their cause. No duty was too tedious for him to undertake. Often we read of his busying himself about matters which many emperors before him had deemed unworthy of their notice. The thoroughness as well as the variety of his rescripts is surprising. He did not, by any means, confine himself to questions of universal justice, but often spent his time in the bare interpretation of the Roman law. For example, on one occasion we find him instructing an inquirer as to the meaning to be attached to the word *liberi* when found in wills.[4]

πολλάκις καὶ δώδεκα ἡμέραις τὴν αὐτὴν δίκην, καίπερ νυκτὸς ἔστιν ὅτε, δικάζων ἔκρινεν. Also Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, lib. 12, c. 2: Καὶ οὐδὲν ἐν παρέργῳ οὔτ' ἐποίει οὔτ' ἔγραφεν οὔτ' ἔλεγε, μὴ δεῖν νομίζων τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐν παρέργῳ τι πράττειν μηδὲ τοὐλάχιστον.

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 24: *Erat mos iste Antonino ut omnia crimina minore supplicio, quam legibus plecti solent, puniret. quamuis non numquam contra manifestos et grauium criminum reos inexorabilis permaneret.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 10: *Hoc quoque senatoribus detulit ut, quoties de quorum capite esset iudicandum, secreto pertractaret atque ita in publicum proderet.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 10: *Senatum multis cognitionibus et maxime ad se pertinentibus iudicem dedit.*

[4] Iustinian., *Dig.*, lib. 50, tit. 16, c. 220, § 2: *Diuus quoque Marcus rescripsit non uideri sine liberis defunctum, qui nepotem suum heredem reliquit.*

At another time he rendered a decision, contrary to the previously accepted view, declaring that a cenotaph is not to be regarded as among that class of objects which the law considers *religiosa*.[1] Nor did he ever discourage his subjects from bringing their matters of dispute into the courts. Indeed, he urged them on every possible opportunity to do so. For a citizen to venture, in any particular case, to take the law into his own hands was regarded as injurious to the public welfare; and Marcus Aurelius enacted that if a creditor attempted, by forcible means, to obtain satisfaction on his debtor's goods, he should thereby lose his right of action.[2] By these various means the Emperor succeeded in reducing the public quarrels and disputes among his subjects to a minimum. But this result was accomplished only by transferring a large mass of litigation from the street-corners to the courts. It was found desirable, therefore, to simplify the methods of procedure in suits at law. One of the chief objections to the forms of procedure in the civil law was the difficulty which a plaintiff experienced when he wished to begin a suit against his opponent. Before the time of Marcus there was apparently but one course for him to pursue. He could avail himself of the *in ius uocatio*, which consisted in his summoning the defendant to appear before the prætor, or other magistrate in whose jurisdiction the case lay. It is not clear, however, what the result would be if the party accused did not present himself in compliance with the summons. Indeed, in some cases it was held that no one could summon another person before the prætor until he had first obtained the prætor's permission to do so. It was, therefore,

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[1] *Dig.*, lib. 1, tit. 8, c. 6, § 5, and c. 7: *Cenotaphium quoque magis placet locum esse religiosum, sicut testis in ea re est Vergilius. . . . Sed diui fratres contra rescripserunt.* Also *Dig.*, lib. 11, tit. 7, c. 6, § 1: *Si cenotaphium fit, posse hoc uenire dicendum est: nec enim esse hoc religiosum diui fratres rescripserunt.*

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 48, tit. 7, c. 7: *Creditores si aduersus debitores suos agant, per iudicem id, quod deberi sibi putant, reposcere debent: alioquin si in rem debitoris sui intrauerint id nullo concedente, diuus Marcus decreuit ius crediti eos non habere.* See also *Dig.*, lib. 4, tit. 2, c. 13.

practically in the power of the prætor to prevent the first step from being taken in every case of which he did not approve. When both parties were at length before the prætor, the plaintiff made a statement of the particular form of action which he intended to bring; he then required the defendant to appear again on a certain day, and the parties separated to prepare their arguments. Now, all of these complicated proceedings Marcus strove to render unnecessary. He did not abolish the *in ius uocatio*, but he instituted alongside of it another method, called the *litis denuntiatio*. This was a much simpler method, and consisted in a declaration of the charge, made personally and before witnesses, against the accused or his representative, who was then bound to come before the tribunal on a certain day fixed by law.[1] These summary proceedings were probably made use of only in cases of minor importance, where it was not deemed necessary that the defendant should be called upon to furnish recognizance. In order further to save time Marcus introduced a new regulation with regard to the *confessio*. Previous to his time a free confession made by the accused while the suit was pending would not be received. If the plaintiff desired to avail himself of it, he was forced to have the present suit ended, and bring his case under an entirely different form of action, called the *confessoria actio*. This, of course, necessitated a great waste of time and money. The Emperor therefore declared that a confession made while the case was *in iure* should be deemed equivalent to a *res iudicata*, and that the proceedings already originated might continue.[2] Another alteration which he effected was with reference to the *compensatio*. It would often occur, in the intercourse between

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[1] Victor, *De Caes.*, c. 16, § 10: *Legum ambigua mire distincta, uadimoniorumque solenni remoto, denuntiandaeque litis, operiendaeque ad diem commode ius introductum.* See also Bethmann-Hollweg, *Civilprozess*, v. 2, p. 201, note 29.

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 42, tit. 1, c. 56: *Post rem iudicatam, uel iureiurando decisam uel confessionem in iure factam nihil quaeritur post orationem diui Marci, quia in iure confessi pro iudicatis habentur.* See also *Dig.*, lib. 42, tit. 2, c. 6, § 2; and Paul., *Sent. ad fil.*, lib. 2, tit. 1, c. 5, and lib. 5, tit. 5[A], c. 2.

business men, that one man was at the same time debtor and creditor of another. Now, if either of the parties desired to press his claim, he had his choice between that class of actions called *bonae fidei* and those which were *stricti iuris*. The former class bore a resemblance to our cases in equity, while the latter corresponded more nearly to our common law. In the one class the judge was at liberty to take into consideration all the circumstances of general equity between the parties; in the other, he was bound to confine himself strictly to the case presented to him, and pass his judgment on that alone. A creditor, therefore, who was himself indebted in another sum to the person whom he wished to sue would always prefer to bring his *actio stricti iuris*. In this way his opponent was debarred from claiming a set-off; and was forced either to pay his debt in full and suffer the loss of the sum due him, or else to go to the trouble and expense of bringing a counteraction. In other words, before the time of Marcus all settlements of cross-claims were effected only by means of two entirely separate actions *stricti iuris*. In order to save time, therefore, the Emperor declared that the *compensatio*, or set-off, should be allowed as well in *actiones stricti iuris* as in those *bonae fidei;* and that when the defendant desired to take advantage of the *compensatio*, he could do so by raising the plea of *dolus malus*, it being deemed fraud for a man to press a claim against his debtor for its full amount while he was himself, in turn, indebted to his opponent.[1] Another innovation in the procedure, to be traced to the efforts of Marcus Aurelius, is the *actio expilatae hereditatis*, which was originated in order that the cases of usucaption of inheritances, which had become very frequent, might be disposed of more expeditiously by having a form of procedure adapted

[1] Iustinian., *Inst.*, lib. 4, tit. 6, c. 30: *Sed et in strictis iudiciis ex rescripto diui Marci, opposita doli mali exceptione compensatio inducebatur.* Also Theophilus, *Inst.*, lib. 4, tit. 6, c. 30: Διάταξις δὲ γέγονε Μάρκου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἥτις φησὶν, ἐναγόμενόν με στρίκτᾳ ἀγωγῇ περὶ ἱ νομισμάτων, καὶ ἀντεποφειλόμενον ἑ, δύνασθαι ἀντιτίθεναι τῇ ἀγωγῇ τὴν τοῦ δόλου παραγραφήν· καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀντιτεξείσης παραγραφῆς, χώρα δίδοται τῷ δικαστῇ δέξασθαι τὴν κομπεσσατίωνα, καὶ εἰς ἑ μόνα καταδικάσαι νομίσματα.

peculiarly to themselves.[1] In his endeavors, however, to reduce the litigation in the courts to greater simplicity, Marcus never lost sight of the fact that the real aim of the law is the administration of justice. He relaxed the severity of the law as much as possible; and even went so far as to institute the *dilatio*, i. e., an adjournment of the case, granted by the judge, when the accused was brought before the court without preparation.[2] But this privilege was restricted in such a way as not to render it liable to abuse.[3] The same spirit displays itself in a vast number of his enactments. For example, he endeavored to secure a recompense for every party who claimed to have been injured, by providing that where an action was brought against a *fideicommissus*, he should be called upon for bail; and if, on the plaintiff's offering to furnish bail, the *fideicommissus* refused to do so, the latter's possessions should be taken from him and handed over to the plaintiff.[4] On another occasion the following case was brought before the Emperor: A person dies, leaving a certain woman as his heir. Several claimants present themselves and the will is contested. The case being protracted for a long time, the woman dies before her portion has been awarded. After a careful consideration of the matter, Marcus declares that whatever portion it shall be found the woman was entitled to must be delivered over to her son.[5] Again, we have a rescript of his in which he so

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[1] *Dig.*, lib. 47, tit. 19, c. 1: *Si quis alienam hereditatem expilauerit, extra ordinem solet coerceri per accusationem expilatae hereditatis, sicut et oratione diui Marci cauetur.*

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 2, tit. 12, c. 7: *Oratione quidem diui Marci amplius quam semel non esse dandam instrumentorum dilationem expressum est: sed utilitatis litigantium gratia causa cognita et iterum dilatio tam ex eadem quam ex alia prouincia secundum moderamen locorum impertiri solet, et maxime si aliquid inopinatum emergat.*

[3] See *Dig.*, lib. 2, tit. 12, c. 10, and lib. 5, tit. 1, c. 45.

[4] *Dig.*, lib. 36, tit. 3, c. 5, § 1: *Imperator Marcus Antoninus Iulio Balbo rescripsit eum, a quo res fideicommissae petebantur, cum appellasset, cauere uel, si caueat aduersarius, ad aduersarium transferri possessionem debere. recte placuit principi post prouocationem quoque fideicommissi cautionem interponi.*

[5] *Dig.*, lib. 38, tit. 2, c. 42, § 3: *Si falsum testamentum ab aliis in prouincia*

far relaxes the severity of the law as to declare that a defendant upon whom the burden of proof rests in a certain instance, if for some special reason he is unable to furnish the necessary evidence, shall not necessarily, on that account, lose his case, but shall rather be judged in proportion to his crime.[1] A striking example of Marcus's desire to administer justice, rather than strict law, is found in the rescript which he returned upon the following case: A claimant presents before the court a will, under which he is entitled to a legacy. The will has never been formally revoked; but it is proved, beyond all doubt, that the testator intended to revoke it, and that he had, in fact, written another will in place of it. This technical difficulty there is no way of obviating. The Emperor therefore declares that the suit must be decided in favor of the claimant. But he orders, further, that he be deprived of his succession, on the ground that he is deemed by the treasury unworthy of it.[2] The same spirit of equity is displayed in another decision which Marcus rendered in the year 169. It seems that a certain slave-owner had intended to enfranchise his slaves at his death, and to make them his heirs. In his will, however, he had used a misnomer, speaking of them as *liberti*, whereas the proper word was *serui*. But the Emperor declares that the will shall not be allowed

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dictum atque ita res per appellationem extracta esset, defuncta medio tempore patroni filia, quam libertus heredem instituerat, filio mulieris seruauit diuus Marcus eam partem bonorum, quam filia patroni uel iure intestati, si uixisset, habere potuit.

[1] *Dig.*, lib. 48, tit. 10, c. 31: *Diuus Pius Claudio rescripsit pro mensura cuiusque delicti constituendum in eos, qui apud iudices instrumenta protulerunt, quae probari non possint: aut si plus meruisse uideatur, quam ex forma iurisdictionis pati possint, ut imperatori describatur aestimaturo, quatenus coerceri debeant. Sed diuus Marcus cum fratre suo pro sua humanitate hanc rem temperauit, ut, si (quod plerumque euenit) per errorem huiusmodi instrumenta proferantur, ignoscatur eis, qui tale quicquam protulerint.*

[2] Gaius, *Inst.*, lib. 2, c. 151: *Si quis ab intestato bonorum possessionem petierit et is, qui ex eo testamento heres est, petat hereditatem suam esse, uincat quidem necesse est in hereditatis petitione; sed fiscus ei quasi indigno auferet hereditatem, ne ullo modo ad eum, quem testator heredem habere uoluit, perueniat hereditate. et hoc ita rescripto Imperatoris Antonini significatur.*

to fail through this technical flaw, and that the slaves shall succeed exactly as if they had been freed and instituted heirs.[1] This extraordinary zeal in obtaining perfect justice for all his people induced the Emperor to sacrifice a vast amount of his time in order to point out what he believed to be the principles of law. He did not always wait until particular cases were presented to him for his decision, but often issued proclamations beforehand with a view to prevent cases of injustice from arising. For instance, in a rescript to Sextius Verus, he attempts to impress upon him that the law will invariably protect any persons who are overreached in business.[2] On another occasion he declares that no covenant may be made by two parties which conflicts with the rights of others; so that an heir may not make an agreement with the mother of the testator to rescind the testator's will, so long as there are other persons interested in it. If he does so, the manumitted slaves and the legatees are to have their action against him.[3] One further example, and we shall have finished our consideration of Marcus's personal activity in the courts. It is taken from a rescript addressed by the Emperor to Scapula Tertyllus, and shows the extreme caution with which he dealt with that knotty point

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[1] Iustinian., *Cod.*, lib. 6, tit. 27, c. 2: *Imp. Antoninus A. Aufidio. Cum uos serui constituti sub appellatione libertorum heredes scripti essetis, ea scriptura benigna interpretatione perinde habenda est, ac si liberi et heredes instituti fuissetis. quod in legato locum non habet. Accepta VII. kal. Mart. Prisco et Apollinari conss.*

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 18, tit. 1, c. 71: *Imperatores Antoninus et Verus Augusti Sextio Vero in haec uerba rescripserunt: "quibus mensuris aut pretiis negotiatores uina compararent, in contrahentium potestate esse: neque enim quisquam cogitur uendere, si aut pretium aut mensura displiceat, praesertim si nihil contra consuetudinem regionis fiat."*

[3] *Dig.*, lib. 2, tit. 15, c. 3: *Imperatores Antoninus et Verus ita rescripserunt: "Priuatis pactionibus non dubium est non laedi ius ceterorum. quare transactione, quae inter heredem et matrem defuncti facta est, neque testamentum rescissum uideri posse neque manumissis uel legatariis actiones suae ademptae. quare quidquid ex testamento petunt, scriptum heredem conuenire debent: qui in transactione hereditatis aut cauit sibi pro oneribus hereditatis, aut si non cauit, non debet negligentiam suam ad alienam iniuriam referre."*

in law—the question of insanity in a person accused of homicide. "If," he says, "you find it proved beyond all question that Ælius Priscus is in such a state as to be continuously deprived of reason, and that there is no ground for suspecting fraud in the statement that he was acting under the impulse of insanity when he killed his mother, you may withhold the punishment; for he is already sufficiently punished by his insanity. You must, however, confine him in future more closely, and even, if you deem it necessary, put him in chains; so much is demanded by justice, his own welfare, and the security of those about him. But if, on the other hand, you find, as is usual with insane persons, that he enjoys lucid intervals, it is your duty to investigate carefully, in order to determine whether or not the crime was committed in one of these intervals; and, if so, whether or not, even then, it is not to be attributed to his disease. In case you find this latter supposition probable, you are to consult me as to whether, on account of the enormity of the crime, we are not to deem him to have acted *scienter*, and, consequently, to be worthy of punishment. Moreover, I learn from your letter that he was in the custody of his relatives, or, at all events, was living unconfined at home. You will, therefore, do well to summon those who were acquainted with his mental condition at the time, to learn the reason of their negligence in not placing him in the hands of the proper authorities, and to punish or exonerate them as the circumstances of the case may justify. For the insane are kept in custody not merely in order that they may do no injury to themselves, but also that they may not inflict harm upon others; so that, if any harm is done, it is but just that those who have been negligent in their duty of guarding the insane man should be held responsible."[1]

However diligent Marcus might be, it was, of course, impossible that he should personally conduct more than a small portion of the litigation which arose among sixty-five millions of people. He was forced, as all his predecessors had been, to delegate to others by far the greater portion of his judicial

[1] *Dig.*, lib. 1, tit. 18, c. 14.

duties. In doing so, however, he used the greatest possible care, in order that none but the most trustworthy persons might be selected to perform these important functions. In one respect, in particular, he accomplished a much-needed reform. Throughout the entire period of the earlier emperors the methods of nominating the judges for the different portions of Italy had been growing continually more lax; and in many cases the emperors seem to have allowed the municipalities of the peninsula to regulate their own judicial matters, without even insisting upon their following any definite laws or precedents. But this method became at last so manifestly deficient in securing justice that the Emperor Hadrian had found it necessary to establish a greater uniformity in the law by altogether remodelling the system. Instead of allowing the law to be administered by a number of officers holding their positions under different authorities and forming their decisions in accordance with different principles, Hadrian divided the whole of Italy into four circles of justice, assigning one person of consular rank to each of these judicial districts; probably placing in the hands of these four judges the power of nominating their inferiors in their own districts.[1] This system did not survive long after Hadrian's death,[2] probably through the exertions of the various municipalities, who would naturally oppose an innovation which took away any of the prerogatives they had previously enjoyed; and by the time that Marcus Aurelius ascended the throne matters had returned to very nearly the condition in which they were before the time of Hadrian. Marcus, therefore, undertook once more to establish a uniformity in the administration of justice, adopting as his model the system which Hadrian had introduced.[3] Between the two systems, however, there were some

[1] Spartianus, *Hadr.*, c. 22: *Quattuor consulares per omnem Italiam iudices constituit.*

[2] Appian., *De bellis ciuilis*, lib. 1, c. 38.

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 11: *Datis iuridicis Italiae consuluit, ad id exemplum, quo Hadrianus consulares uiros reddere iura praeceperat.* On the interpretation of this passage see the notes of Casaubon and Saumaise to Spart., *Hadr.*, c. 22, and Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 11, in their editions of the

points of difference. In the first place, whereas Hadrian had appointed only men of consular rank to serve as judges, we find that the *iuridici* established by Marcus were prætorians.[1] This alteration may have been due to the fact that the old system had caused dissatisfaction by placing the administration of Italy on a different basis from that of the provinces. At all events, it was, in fact, one step further towards a uniformity of organization throughout the Empire. Henceforth the *iuridici* of Italy were, like those of Britannia, Pannonia, and the other provinces, men belonging to the prætorian rank. The second difference between the *consulares* of Hadrian and the *iuridici* of Marcus is with reference to their number and the extent of their jurisdiction. The *consulares* had been four in number; whereas the *iuridici* appointed by Marcus were five, and the districts as at first assigned to them were as follows: 1. Transpadana, including Venetia and Histria (corresponding with *regiones XI.* and *X.*, as established by Augustus);[2] 2. Æmilia Liguria (*reg. IX.* and *VIII.*);[3]

Script. hist. Aug.; H. Dodwell's *Praelectiones academ. in schola historices Camdeniana.* Oxon., 1692. 8°. p. 351; Savigny's *Gesch. des röm. Rechts im Mittelalter*, v. 1, ch. 2, § 11; Savigny's article *Ueber den röm. Volkschluss der Tafel von Heraclea*, in the *Zeitschrift für gesch. Rechtswissenschaft*, v. 9, p. 334; Burckhardt's *Lehrb. des röm. Rechts*, pt. 1, p. 208; Puchta's *Cursus der Institutionen.* Leipz., 1841. 8°. v. 1, p. 397; Puchta's article *Ueber den Inhalt der lex Rubria*, in the *Zeitschrift für gesch. Rechtswissenschaft*, v. 10, p. 204; Walter, *Gesch. des röm. Rechts*, pt. 1, pp. 362–3; Dirksen's *Die Script. hist. Aug.*, pp. 78–105; Borghesi's *Œuvres*, v. 5, pp. 391–2; and Mommsen's article *Die libri coloniarum*, in *Die Schriften der röm. Feldmesser*, edited by Blume, Lachmann, and Rudorff. Berl., 1852. 8°. v. 2, pp. 192–5.

[1] See Borghesi's article *Iscrizione onoraria di Concordia*, in Rome. Istit. di corrisp. archeol. *Annal. dell' inst. per l'anno* 1853. Roma, 1853. pp. 196–209 (repub. in Borghesi's *Œuvres*, v. 5, pp. 391–400).

[2] See the inscriptions in Orelli, *no.* 3143; Mommsen, *Insc. reg. Neap. Latin.*, *no.* 3604 (also in Henzen, *no.* 6486); Berlin. Akad. der Wiss. *Corp. insc. Latin.*, v. 5, *no.* 1874 (also in Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 5, p. 383), *no.* 4332, and *no.* 4341 (also in Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 5, p. 393); and Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 5, p. 403.

[3] Orelli, *no.* 3044; and Mommsen, *Insc. reg. Neap. Latin.*, *no.* 4237 (also in Henzen, *no.* 6482).

3. Apulia and Calabria (*reg. II.*);[1] 4. Lucania Brittii (*reg. III.*);[2] 5. Umbria and Picenum, together with the *ager Gallicus*, known also as Flaminia (*reg. V.* and *VI.*).[3] Thus three of the *regiones* of Augustus, viz., *I.* (Campania),[4] *VII.* (Tuscia),[5] and *IV.* (Samnium),[6] were not supplied with *iuridici*. The reason of this was probably the proximity of these *regiones* to the city. The zeal with which Marcus devoted himself to the administration of justice induced him to extend his own jurisdiction as far as possible; so that when he framed his new organization of the peninsula he reserved to himself and his inferior officers in the *urbica diocesis* the greater portion of the three *regiones* nearest to the city.

The purpose for which the *iuridici* were at first appointed was to serve as *iudices*, or judges.[7] There can be no question, however, that certain powers were also intrusted to them, by virtue of which they exerted a restraining, if not a controlling, influence upon the municipal authorities in whose territory they were placed. Exactly what these powers were it is impossible to determine, but they would naturally be rather of a legislative than of a political nature. In one or

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[1] Orelli, *no.* 1178 (also in Mommsen, *Insc. reg. Neap. Latin.*, *no.* 1420), and *no.* 2377 (also in Berlin. Akad. der Wiss. *Corp. insc. Latin.*, v. 5, *no.* 2112); and Henzen, *no.* 6492.

[2] Mommsen, *Insc. reg. Neap. Latin.*, *no.* 4851 (also in Henzen, *no.* 6745; and Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 5, p. 398).

[3] Orelli, *nos.* 3174, 3177, and 3851; and Desjardin's article in Rome. Istit. di corrisp. archeol. *Annal. dell' inst. per l'anno* 1868. Roma, 1868. p. 97.

[4] The inscription in Orelli, *no.* 3173, where we find a *iuridicus* in Campania, is false. See Mommsen, *Insc. reg. Neap. Latin.*, *no.* 538 (*falsae*); and Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 5, p. 393.

[5] The first inscription which we find mentioning a *iuridicus* in *reg. VII.* (Tuscia) is of the time of Commodus; and even then its interpretation is somewhat doubtful. See Henzen's article in Rome. Istit. di corrisp. archeol. *Annal. dell' inst. per l'anno* 1863. Roma, 1863. p. 277; and Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, v. 1, p. 76.

[6] An inscription in Henzen, *no.* 6489, has been thought to refer to a *iuridicus* in *reg. IV.* (Samnium); but Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 5, p. 401, has proved this to be an error.

[7] Spartianus, *Hadr.*, c. 22; and Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 11.

two cases we hear of *iuridici* who were actively engaged in measures of assistance when their territories were in distress through failure of crops,[1] but there is no reason for believing that they were regularly intrusted with duties of this nature. A continual employment of that kind would naturally interfere with the purpose for which they were appointed, viz., to render justice. As to the relation which the *iuridici* bore to the local authorities, it should be remarked that the municipal magistrates were still permitted to judge in matters of a civil nature where the property in dispute did not exceed a certain value,[2] but the more important cases were reserved for the *iuridici*.[3] In certain questions, too, the municipal judges were not allowed to give judgment until they had conferred with the *iuridici*, and an appeal lay to the latter from every decision rendered by the inferior magistrates.[4] It must not be supposed, however, that the jurisdiction of the *iuridici* was unlimited in their own districts. Their decisions were by no means final. In their turn, they were restrained by the imperial authority at Rome;[5] and, unless special power was given them for some particular purpose, they were bound to refer all the most important questions to the su-

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[1] Orelli, *no.* 3177. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 5, p. 416, cites this inscription to prove that one of the regular functions of the *iuridici* was the distribution of food.

[2] Paul., *Sent. ad fil.*, lib. 5, tit. 5[A], c. 1: *Res iudicatae uidentur . . . a magistratibus municipalibus usque ad summam, qua ius dicere possunt.* See also Iustinian., *Dig.*, lib. 2, tit. 1, c. 20, and lib. 50, tit. 1, c. 28.

[3] See Bethmann-Hollweg, *Der röm. Civilprozess*, v. 2, p. 763; and Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, v. 1, p. 76.

[4] See *Dig.*, lib. 49, tit. 1, c. 3, 4, and 21.

[5] Dion Cassius, lib. 78, c. 22: Δικαιονόμοι οἱ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διοικοῦντες ἐπαύσαντο, ὑπὲρ τὰ νομισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάρκου δικάζοντες. The interpretation of this passage has been a matter of much dispute. See Dirksen, pp. 97–101; Henzen's article in Rome. Istit. di corrisp. archeol. *Bull. dell' inst. per l'anno* 1853. Roma, 1853. pp. 24–5; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, v. 1, p. 73; and Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 5, p. 404. But it is now pretty generally agreed that "ἐπαύσαντο . . . δικάζοντες" is to be translated, "they limited their authority to those matters over which Marcus had given them jurisdiction."

preme court of the emperor.[1] In this way a uniformity in the administration of justice was secured, such as the Empire had never known before. The various local magistrates were permitted to retain jurisdiction over matters of purely local importance, in which they would naturally be better versed than the judges sent from Rome; but even in these matters they were prevented from rendering unjust or prejudiced decisions by the continual presence in their neighborhood of an imperial delegate, to whom any person who felt that justice had not been done him could, without waste of time or money, appeal; while, in their turn, these higher magistrates were prevented from assuming an undue power by a provision allowing a final appeal from their decisions to the emperor himself. The system was unusually perfect for the time in which it was introduced; and the success which attended it is evident from the fact that with some modifications it remained in force from about 165 till the end of the third century[2]—a long period in those days of novelty and change.

Passing, now, from the reforms which Marcus brought about in the methods of administering justice, let us study the impress which his character left on the body of the law itself. But before treating in detail the particular laws enacted in his reign, it will, perhaps, be well to premise a few remarks on the source whence all new enactments were, at this time, derived. The legislative power, which, towards the close of the Republic, had been transferred almost entirely from the people to the senate, was now, to a great extent, taken from the senate, and centred, along with nearly every other power of the state, in the hands of the emperor alone. To be sure, the *senatus consulta* did not fall wholly out of use till the close of Caracalla's reign; but already, long before the time of Marcus Aurelius, it had come to be a mere form for the emperor to ask the senate to vote on any law which he desired to enact. The proposed measure was brought before

[1] Orelli, *no.* 3174, gives an inscription in which we learn of a *iuridicus* to whom such special authority had been delegated: *Iuridicus de infinite per Flam. et Umbriam Picenum.*

[2] Orelli, *nos.* 3143 and 3174; and Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 5, p. 403.

the senate in a message from the emperor, which was customarily read to the house by the *quaestor candidatus;* or else the emperor delivered his proposition personally, in the form of an oration; and the absolute authority of the emperor's will is shown by the fact that legal writers of the time often quote as their authority the emperor's oration instead of the *senatus consultum* itself.[1] Further, no *senatus consultum* not introduced by the emperor could become law without the imperial sanction; in other words, the emperor possessed the absolute right of veto. Besides the *senatus consulta*, the emperor promulgated his laws in other ways, which, though depending entirely on his own will, were quite as authoritative as the measures which he laid before the senate. These methods were four in number, and, in accordance as he used one or another of them, the enactments were called *edicta*, *decreta*, *rescripta*, or *mandata*—all of which were classed together under the head of *constitutiones*. The *edicta* were so called because they were laws which the emperor published for the entire people. They were, in their general nature, similar to the prætor's edicts; but, whereas the edicts of the prætor were merely provisional, to be abolished the next year by his successor unless they proved to be beneficial, the imperial edicts received at once the authority of a perpetual law. The *decreta* were the decisions which the emperor rendered while sitting at the tribunal; these, too, when once delivered, became the precedents for all later cases involving the same point. This was also the case with the *rescripta*, or replies of the emperor to inquiries from private individuals or from his magistrates on points of law. Sometimes these replies were in the form of letters, *epistolae;* or, again, they were mere *subscriptiones*, i. e., remarks written at the bottom of the inquiry. Lastly, we have the *mandata*, which were the instructions given by the emperor to his magistrates; these were similar to the edicts, but were called by a different name, because they were not intended for publication. All of these imperial *constitutiones*, together with the *senatus*

[1] See *Dig.*, lib. 2, tit. 15, c. 8; lib. 5, tit. 3, c. 22 and 40; lib. 17, tit. 2, c. 52, § 10; lib. 23, tit. 2, c. 60; and lib. 24, tit. 1, c. 32.

consulta, were regarded as the supreme legislative authorities in the state; and they continued to be the law forever, unless retracted, or abolished by a contradictory enactment of some later emperor. Thus we see what a wide-reaching influence it was possible for a Roman emperor to exert upon the law, and, through that, upon the morality of his time. In the laws of Marcus's reign which we are now to study, we shall observe everywhere the reflection of his noble mind. The conception of justice which had found its birth in that little Stoic child—which had developed under the loving influence of his father, his mother, and his master, and which was now, at length, to be given to the Roman world—has exerted upon us of this later generation an influence which it would be difficult to overestimate. It was under Marcus Aurelius that three of the most eminent lawyers of all times flourished. The works of Julian, of Gaius, and of Papinian, from which the *Digest* of Justinian was in great measure compiled, form the basis of both the civil and the common law of our own day. The writings of these men exhibit a conception of justice which is essentially a modern one. In this conception, however, they were by no means alone. They are merely the best mirror preserved to us of the times in which they lived. The reign of the Antonines will always be memorable as the age when the spirit of Christianity first found its way into the body of the Roman laws. And yet it is impossible that this Christian spirit should have been, at that early day, the effect of Christianity itself. The broad and charitable attitude which men were beginning to take with reference to the rights and duties of the various portions of society can be due only to the principles of Stoicism, which were forcing themselves upon the minds of men—principles which reached their highest form in the minds of the very monarchs who ruled the world throughout the second century of the Christian era. To the characters of these monarchs, therefore, we owe it in a large degree that the Roman law became imbued with Christian principles so long before the introduction of Christianity itself.[1]

[1] As a proof of this change of attitude, it will be well to study, in addi-

In no way was this breadth of purpose more marked than in the laws which Marcus passed in aid of slaves. This unfortunate class of society was never in a more deplorable condition than under the early Roman emperors. The utter wretchedness of the slave's position found its roots in the principle of the Roman law that a slave was destitute of personality;[1] he fell absolutely into the category of a chattel personal, and his owner had precisely the same power over him that he had over any other piece of personal property. A slave was an object of inheritance,[2] like all other goods. He could be given away,[3] or left as a legacy;[4] he could be put out upon usury,[5] or wagered;[6] and he could be sold.[7] In short, the master had complete control over his slave, including even the power of life and death. But what made the position of the slave more intolerable than all else was that, since he was deprived of all rights, the law refused to recognize in him any responsibilities.[8] Previous to the reign of Marcus a master could not accuse his slave of committing adultery;[9] for the slave possessed no right of marriage. His intercourse with a fellow-slave was mere cohabitation, which began by his master's orders and continued at his master's will. Finally, the slave was deemed incapable of committing theft;[10] for, if he took anything from his master, it was merely a displacing of property, it being still in the master's possession; and, if he took from any one else, it was his master's act. Thus the slave, stripped of all rights and duties which distinguish human beings from brutes, found himself in a relation to the rest of the world

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tion to the laws which we are about to consider, the following passages in Gaius's *Institutiones:* lib. 1, c. 1, 158 and 189, and lib. 2, c. 65–6, 69, 73, and 79.

[1] Iustinian., *Inst.*, lib. 1, tit. 16, c. 4: *Nullum caput habuit.*

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 28, tit. 5, c. 31: *Hereditatem dominam esse defuncti locum optinere.* [3] Iustinian., *Inst.*, lib. 2, tit. 4, c. 2.

[4] Iustinian., *Inst.*, lib. 2, tit. 20, c. 22, and tit. 21, c. 1.

[5] Iustinian., *Inst.*, lib. 2, tit. 4, c. 2, and tit. 5, c. 3; and *Dig.*, lib. 21, tit. 1, c. 28. [6] *Dig.*, lib. 20, tit. 1, c. 1, § 1. [7] *Dig.*, lib. 21, tit. 1, c. 1, § 1.

[8] *Dig.*, lib. 50, tit. 17, c. 22: *In personam servilem nulla cadit obligatio.*

[9] Iustinian., *Cod.*, lib. 9, tit. 9, c. 23; and *Dig.*, lib. 48, tit. 2, c. 5, and tit. 5, c. 6. [10] *Dig.*, lib. 47, tit. 2, c. 17.

which threatened soon to extinguish every trace of the dignity and morality that belong to man. This final degradation, however, was happily averted; in part, perhaps, by the feelings of charity which induce all men to take pity on the oppressed, but chiefly because the Roman masters found it for their own interest to provide for the welfare of their slaves. During the later times of the Republic and under the early emperors the number of slaves increased, through wars and the growth of luxury, to such an extent that it was no longer possible to employ them all in the menial occupations which they had hitherto pursued. Into one trade after another they pushed themselves until, in the time of the Antonines, there were but very few professions in which they did not work. And as soon as they allied themselves with any department, that line of business became at once so unpopular among the higher classes that before long it ceased to be practised by any persons except those belonging to the inferior grades of society. In this way nearly all the mechanical arts, and even grammar, philosophy, and medicine, came to be looked upon very largely as the proper sphere of the lower classes. When, at length, the slaves had risen to those positions in which success depended almost entirely upon their own efforts, the masters found it manifestly to their advantage to encourage, in every possible way, the exertions of their dependants; and they were not slow to discern that the greatest human efforts are always made under circumstances of the greatest personal independence. So that the custom of enfranchising one's slaves, which had always been more or less practised among the Romans, came to be adopted to a far greater degree than ever before. A clever slave who was thus enfranchised could render a service to his master ten times more valuable than was possible for him when in a condition of servitude. In enfranchising his servant it was often customary for the master to stipulate that a certain sum should be paid him within a year, or that certain annual payments should be made, from the earnings of the freedman; and such sums, when paid, usually proved to be a generous recompense to the master for dispensing with the services of his

slave. But even where no stipulation of this kind was made, it was generally an advantage to be able to claim the services of a freedman, rather than those of a slave; for it must not be imagined that the freedman ceased immediately upon his enfranchisement to owe allegiance to his former master. The manumitted slave became, to be sure (except in the cases of the *liberti Latini* and the *dediticii*), a Roman citizen; but he was by no means freed from all marks of his former bondage. He continued in a state of semi-servitude, and the term *patronus* was used to designate the relation which the former master bore to his manumitted slave. In addition to any special stipulations which the patron might see fit to make (and this right of stipulation was sometimes imposed most cruelly), every freedman owed personal respect (*obsequium*) and assistance (*officium*) to his patron. The duty of rendering *obsequium* prevented the person manumitted from bringing against his former master any action by which the latter's reputation could be assailed; he was bound to endure many injuries, and, even in cases of real oppression, to be very slow to complain; if he was compelled to come before the law, he could do so only with extreme deference.[1] The *officia* of the freedman were doubtless the same as those of the client; they consisted in personal escort, in aiding his patron with money at the marriage of his daughter, and in ransoming him if he was imprisoned for debt or impoverished by any other misfortune.[2] As regards the property which the freedman might acquire, the law was as follows: If a freedman died intestate and without an heir-at-law, the patron succeeded to his entire property; if he made a will, he was bound to give his patron at least one half his property, and upon failure to do so the prætor would assign it to the patron. Thus we see that the condition of the freedman, though nominally a degree higher, was, in fact, scarcely any improvement upon that of the slave. He remained practically at the command, and toiled mainly for the profit, of

[1] *Dig.*, lib. 37, tit. 15, c. 5 and 7.

[2] Dionysius *Halicarnensis*, *Antiq. Roman.*, lib. 2, c. 10; and Gellius, *Noct. Attic.*, lib. 5, c. 13.

his former master; he bore about his person continually the external badges of his previous servitude, and this degrading relation of subjection to his patron descended to the third generation of the emancipated slave. In numbers the freedmen increased so rapidly under the early emperors that by the time of Marcus Aurelius they had usurped nearly all those lines of business which contribute to the physical welfare and comfort of society; so that while the free-born Romans confined themselves chiefly to those professions whose end is the government of others, they found themselves forced to rely on a nation of slaves and freedmen for those arts through which alone any government is possible. The forces by which a state is kept alive were, in the Roman Empire, almost exclusively in the hands of a class whose industry could accomplish little for themselves, and whose loyalty to the state was greatly subordinate to their necessity of allegiance to the patron. Even when released from the remembrance of their former servitude, it took them several generations to acquire a loyalty and affection for the country in which they had recently been naturalized; and meanwhile their places had been filled by newly imported slaves, who became so numerous that, when it was once proposed in the senate to assign a distinct dress for slaves, the measure was overthrown because of the danger in allowing the slaves to see how few the free citizens were in comparison with them.[1]

In addition, therefore, to the feelings of benevolence which actuated Marcus Aurelius in relieving this down-trodden class of society, he was induced by political reasons to enact measures to avert the impending danger. How to augment the relatively small free population and how to alleviate the distress of the slaves and freedmen, were problems which Marcus kept continually before him. He strove to make real that idea which he speaks of in his *Thoughts*—the idea of a "polity in which there is the same law for all, a polity administered with regard to equal rights and equal freedom of speech, and the idea of a kingly government which respects most of all the freedom of the governed."[2] It was a difficult

[1] L. Annaeus Seneca, *De clem.*, lib. 1, c. 24. [2] *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 14.

task that lay before the Emperor. Revolutions sometimes take place in politics—in law, never. The boast of law is that it is founded on justice; and the principles of justice remain eternally the same. The principles of political parties may be overthrown by the weight of numbers or the power of wealth; in law, whatever alterations are accomplished are effected by force of argument alone. To convince the Roman people that a person taken in war is not the property of the captor was more than any one emperor could accomplish. Marcus Aurelius did a noble work in promulgating this doctrine; but its final adoption could only be effected by the reasoning of ages. As a first step towards the abolition of slavery Marcus introduced a practice which was, in fact, almost a logical consequence of his immediate predecessors' beneficent laws. Hadrian had attempted to put an end to the cruelty with which some masters treated their slaves, by forbidding that any slave should be put to death unless after condemnation by the courts;[1] and Antoninus Pius had passed a law which strengthened still further the position of Hadrian, declaring that whoever should, without just cause, put one of his slaves to death should be liable to the same punishment as if he had killed the slave of another.[2] These enactments, it will be said, did not go very far. But they involved a new principle in the Roman law, which opened the door for vast changes. Once granted that the slaves had a standing, even the slightest, in the courts, and they would soon succeed in having that standing defined according to the logic of the law. Marcus Aurelius was quick to perceive the advantage which had thus been gained; and he at once followed it up by an enactment, framed as a privilege to the master, but in reality a decided benefit to the slave. By this new law the master was empowered to bring an action in the courts for

[1] Spartianus, *Hadr.*, c. 18: *Seruos a dominis occidi uetuit eosque iussit damnari per iudices si digni essent.*

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 1, tit. 6, c. 1, § 2: *Ex constitutione diui Antonini qui sine causa seruum suum occiderit, non minus puniri iubetur, quam qui alienum seruum occiderit.* See also Gaius, *Inst.*, lib. 1, c. 53; and Iustinian, *Inst.*, lib. 1, tit. 8, c. 2.

every injury suffered at the hands of his slave.[1] Thus the masters were encouraged to lay all their grievances before the tribunals instead of taking the punishment of their slaves into their own hands, as they had done hitherto. It was one step more towards placing both upon the same footing. If the masters could be induced to rely on the courts to award them justice for all injuries from their slaves, it would follow almost as a corollary that the slaves might look to the courts for protection from the injustice of their masters. It is always the oppressed that gain when law is substituted in the place of despotism. A secondary purpose which Marcus had in encouraging masters to lay their grievances before the courts was to do away with a brutal custom known as the *quaestio*, or torture. This had long been the ordinary way of inducing a slave to confess any crime which he had committed, and also of compelling him to furnish evidence against his fellows. It was a method which failed chiefly in the uncertainty of its result. The likelihood that a guilty slave, when put to the torture, would confess the truth, was counterbalanced by the chance that an innocent slave would be induced by the same means to tell a falsehood. But the *quaestio* was so deeply grounded in the habits of the people that its inefficiency as well as its enormity escaped general notice. Even Marcus Aurelius seems to have aimed rather at substituting a more just method of obtaining evidence than at abolishing entirely the older form of procedure. To his credit, however, it should be said that he urged strongly the propriety of resorting to this method only as a last resource, and even then of using as little violence as possible. Indeed, the compilers of the *Digest* have preserved a letter in which Marcus recommends that a slave who, under torture, had confessed a crime of which he turned out afterwards to be innocent, should be set at liberty, in recompense for the indignity he had suffered.[2] Another humane law, by which Marcus re-

[1] *Dig.*, lib. 48, tit. 2, c. 5: *Sed ex rescripto diui Marci etiam aduersus proprium seruum accusationem instituere dominus potest. post hoc igitur rescriptum accusandi necessitas incumbet domino seruum suum.*

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 48, tit. 18, c. 1, § 27: *Extat epistula diuorum fratrum ad Vo-*

strained the cruelty of masters, provided that if a slave should be sold, otherwise than after judgment in the courts, for the purpose of being pitted against beasts in the arena, both the seller and the buyer should be punished.[1] As long, however, as the masters were just and kind towards their slaves, the Emperor felt that the slaves were, in return, bound to obey their masters. He therefore published an open letter, in which he proclaimed it to be the duty of all governors, magistrates, and police soldiers to aid masters in their search for fugitive slaves. When found, the runaways were to be returned to their masters, and whoever aided in concealing them was to be punished.[2] Indeed, Marcus went further; and made it lawful for the search to be conducted upon the estates of the emperor as well as upon those of senator or peasant.[3]

It was not only, however, with a view towards relieving the condition of those in actual slavery that Marcus worked, he sought, also, to render enfranchisement more easy. Previous to his time it had frequently happened that a master who had

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conium Saxam, qua continetur liberandum eum, qui in se fuerat confessus, cuius post damnationem de innocentia constitisset, cuius uerba haec sunt: "*Prudenter et egregia ratione humanitatis, Saxa carissime, Primitiuum seruum, qui homicidium in se confingere metu ad dominum reuertendi suspectus esset, perseuerantem falsa demonstratione damnasti quaesiturus de consciis, quos aeque habere se commentitus fuerat, ut ad certiorem ipsius de se confessionem peruenires. nec frustra fuit tam prudens consilium tuum, cum in tormentis constiterit neque illos ei conscios fuisse et ipsum de se temere commentum. potes itaque decreti gratiam facere et eum per officium distrahi iubere, conditione addita, ne umquam in potestatem domini reuertatur, quem pretio recepto certum habemus libenter tali seruo cariturum.*"

[1] *Dig.*, lib. 18, tit. 1, c. 42: *Domini neque per se neque per procuratores suos possunt saltem criminosos seruos uendere, ut cum bestiis pugnarent. et ita diui fratres rescripserunt.* See also *Dig.*, lib. 48, tit. 8, c. 11.

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 11, tit. 4, c. 1, § 2: *Est etiam generalis epistula diuorum Marci et Commodi, qua declaratur et praesides et magistratus et milites stationarios dominum adiuuare debere inquirendis fugitiuis, et ut inuentos rederent, et ut hi, apud quos delitescant, puniantur, si crimine contingantur.*

[3] *Dig.*, lib. 11, tit. 4, c. 3: *Diuus Marcus oratione, quam in senatu recitauit, facultatem dedit ingrediendi tam Caesaris quam senatorum et paganorum praedia uolentibus fugitiuos inquirere scrutarique cubilia atque uestigia occultantium.*

intended to enfranchise his slaves at his death died without making a will, or that his will was void by reason of some technical flaw in the construction, as for lack of designating an heir. In these cases, of course, every clause in the will and every expressed intention of the master would be without effect; and the heir appointed by law would succeed to the intestate's entire property, including the slaves which he had intended to enfranchise. To this there was no remedy, and the purpose of the intestate was absolutely thwarted. Often, however, where the master died intestate, no one was willing to assume the position of heir; for the Roman heir, unlike ours, was responsible for the deceased's debts *in solido;* that is to say, he was bound to satisfy creditors from the estate of the deceased as far as it extended, and, if that was not sufficient, he had to supply the remainder from his own property. So that the position of heir to one who died insolvent was not a charge which many people cared to undertake; and when no heir could be found, it was originally the law that the creditors might claim all the deceased's effects, including his slaves. But Marcus Aurelius saw an opportunity here to benefit the oppressed. He enacted that, if no heir presented himself, the slaves of the deceased should be permitted to administer the estate; and that, though the deceased must be regarded as intestate and his will void if the heir designated therein refused to accept, yet those clauses of the will which granted the slaves their freedom should be respected; so that those who were directly enfranchised became free at once, and those enfranchised by *fideicommissum* passed into the hands of the person to whom the goods of the deceased were adjudged, to receive from him their manumission.[1] Further,

[1] Iustinian., *Inst.*, lib. 3, tit. 11: *Accessit nouus casus successionis ex constitutione diui Marci: nam si ii qui libertatem acceperunt a domino in testamento ex quo non aditur hereditas, uelint bona sibi addici libertatum conseruandarum causa, audiuntur.* Also Iustinian., *Cod.*, lib. 7, tit. 2, c. 15: *Cum constitutio diui Marci declaret, si quis testamento condito uel sine testamento moriens, ut locus fiat ab intestato successioni, libertates reliquerit, nemo autem adire uult defuncti hereditatem eo, quod suspecta esse uidetur, et si fuerint libertates forsitan et sine scriptis fideicommissariae relictae,*

Marcus strengthened the position of those who were enfranchised by *fideicommissum*, by a rescript providing that when a slave was sold to another person on condition that he should be freed at a certain time, the enfranchisement must take place at that time, whether the master who sold him should afterwards change his mind or not; this, too, even if both buyer and seller should die before the time appointed.[1] This rule was also applicable to those cases where a husband gave a favorite slave to his wife, with the stipulation that she should manumit him before a certain day; when the time came the slave was to be freed, whether or not the husband was then living.[2] So, also, if a mother gave her daughter a slave to be manumitted as soon as she, the mother, died; and the time for the slave's manumission might even be hastened, if the mother before her

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licere uel cuilibet extraneo uel uni ex seruis, qui et ipse libertate donatus est et pro sua periclitatur condicione, adire hereditatem sub hac condicione et satisdatione, quod et creditoribus omnibus satisfaciat et libertates imponat his, quibus uoluerit testator. Also *Dig.*, lib. 40, tit. 5, c. 2: *Si quis intestatus decedens codicillis dedit libertates neque adita sit ab intestato hereditas, fauor constitutionis diui Marci debet locum habere et hoc casu, quae iubet libertatem competere seruo et bona ei addici, si idonee creditoribus cauerit de solido, quod cuique debetur soluendo.* Also Theophilus, *Inst.*, lib. 3, tit. 11, c. 1: Ἔστι καὶ τέταρτον εἶδος τῆς καθ' ὁμάδα κτήσεως, καινότατον καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἄγνωστον, ἐκ διατάξεως τοῦ θειοτάτου Μάρκου ἐπινοηθέν. Ἐὰν γὰρ οἱ τυχόντες ἐλευθερίας ἐν διαθήκῃ, μηδενὸς ἀδιτεύοντος, αἰτήσωσιν ἑαυτοῖς προσκυρωθῆναι τὰ πράγματα, φυλακτέων ἕνεκα τῶν ἐλευθεριῶν ἐπιτεύξονται τούτου. Also *Dig.*, lib. 40, tit. 5, c. 30, § 13: *Si alter sine successore decesserit, alter ex iusta causa absit, extat rescriptum diuorum Marci et Veri perinde dicentium eum ad libertatem peruenturum, ac si ab eo qui sine successore decessit et ab eo qui ex iusta causa abesset ad libertatem ut oportuit perductus esset.*

[1] *Dig.*, lib. 40, tit. 8, c. 1: *Si seruus uenditus est, ut intra certum tempus manumitteretur, etiamsi sine herede decessissent et uenditor et emptor, seruo libertas competit: et hoc diuus Marcus rescripsit. Sed et si mutauerit uenditor uoluntatem, nihilo minus libertas competit.* See also *Dig.*, lib. 26, tit. 4, c. 3, § 2, and lib. 40, tit. 1, c. 20, tit. 9, c. 30, § 1, and tit. 12, c. 38, § 1.

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 24, tit. 1, c. 7, § 8: *Uxori quis donauit seruum ita, ut eum intra annum manumitteret: an, si mulier non obtemperet uoluntati, constitutio diui Marci imponat ei libertatem, si uir uel uiuit uel etiam diem suum obierit?*

death consented to have her freed.[1] In cases where a slave was sold or given away, to be manumitted at the death of the recipient, Marcus insisted, with the utmost imperativeness, that the manumission must be performed. Nothing was allowed to stand in the way.[2] Even if the one who bought the slave to be manumitted died insolvent, the claims of the creditors were not to extend to such a slave.[3] In one case, indeed, where the master of a slave to be manumitted died without performing the ceremony, the Emperor did not at once declare the slave to be free; but in this case there seem to have been special reasons influencing him, and even then he proclaimed that at the end of six months the slave should receive his liberty.[4] Moreover, he further encouraged enfranchisement by allowing all corporations aggregate to manumit their slaves[5]—a privilege which, until within a few years, had even been withheld from the provincial cities.[6] The condition, too, of slaves who had already received their liberty, Marcus attempted to alleviate. In the first place, he declared that no *operae* could be demanded from those freedmen who, according to his constitution, had obtained their liberty by act of law; for they were not under obligations to any individuals

[1] *Dig.*, lib. 40, tit. 8, c. 8: *Mancipia mater filiae donauerat, ut filia curaret ea post mortem suam esse libera: cum donationis legi non esset obtemperatum, ex sententia constitutionis diui Marci libertates optingere matre consentiente respondi: quod si ante filiam mater uita decessit, omnimodo.*

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 40, tit. 5, c. 30, § 16: *Diuus etiam Marcus rescripsit fideicommissas libertates neque aetate neque condicione neque mora non praestantium tardiusue reddentium corrumpi aut in deteriorem statum perduci.*

[3] *Dig.*, lib. 40, tit. 8, c. 6: *Si quis obligatum seruum hac lege emerit, ut manumittat, competit libertas ex constitutione diui Marci, licet bona omnia quis obligauerit, quae habet habiturusue esset.* See also *Dig.*, lib. 40, tit. 1, c. 10.

[4] *Dig.*, lib. 18, tit. 7, c. 10: *Diuus Marcus ex lege dicta libertatis in uendendo quamuis non manumissos fore liberos in semenstribus constituit, licet in mortis tempus emptoris distulit uenditor libertatem.*

[5] *Dig.*, lib. 40, tit. 3, c. 1: *Diuus Marcus omnibus collegiis, quibus coeundi ius est, manumittendi potestatem dedit.*

[6] This privilege had been granted to the provincial cities by Hadrian. See Iustinian., *Cod.*, lib. 7, tit. 9, c. 3.

for their liberty.[1] Again, seeking to protect them from having their period of freedmanship extended beyond the legal three generations, he enacted that if, during a man's life, he was declared by the authorities to be *ingenuus*, that decision could not be reversed after the man was dead.[2] The right of claiming that there was collusion in the proceedings he permitted, not only to the persons interested, but also to strangers; if, however, the claim of collusion was not set up within five years after the proclamation of *ingenuitas*, it would not be listened to.[3] With reference to the children of freedwomen Marcus passed another humane law, providing that if the slave who was to be manumitted at a certain time should be delayed, and should bring forth a child after the time appointed, but before she received her liberty, the child was to be regarded as *ingenuus*.[4] In all doubtful cases with regard to slaves and freedmen Marcus preferred to fail on the side of charity rather than to encourage cruelty; and we hear of some instances where he even went so far as to allow a freedman to be

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[1] *Dig.*, lib. 38, tit. 1, c. 13: *Si quis hac lege emptus sit, ut manumittatur, et ex constitutione diui Marci peruenerit ad libertatem, operae ei impositae nullum effectum habebunt. Sed nec cui bona addicta sunt ex constitutione diui Marci libertatium conseruandarum causa, poterit operas petere neque ab his, qui directas, neque ab his, qui fideicommissarias acceperunt, quamuis fideicommissarias libertates qui acceperunt, ipsius liberti efficiantur: non enim sic fiunt liberti, ut sunt proprii, quos nulla necessitate cogente manumisimus.*

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 40, tit. 15, c. 1, § 3: *Oratione diui Marci cauetur, ut, si quis ingenuus pronuntiatus fuerit, liceat ingenuitatis sententiam retractare, sed uino eo qui ingenuus pronuntiatus est, non etiam post mortem, in tantum, ut etiam, si coepta quaestio fuit retractationis, morte eius extinguatur, ut eadem oratione cauetur.*

[3] *Dig.*, lib. 40, tit. 16, c. 2: *Conlusionem detegere ingenuitatis post sententiam intra quinquennium posse diuus Marcus constituit. . . . Oratione diui Marci cauetur, ut etiam extraneis, qui pro altero postulandi ius haberent, liceret detegere conlusionem.*

[4] *Dig.*, lib. 38, tit. 16, c. 1, § 1: *Quaeri poterit, si ex ea, quae in fideicommissa libertate moram passa est, conceptus et natus sit, an suus patri existat. et cum placeat eum ingenuum nasci, ut est a diuis Marco et Vero et imperatore nostro Antonino Augusto rescriptum, cur non, etc.*

chosen as tutor to his infant patron.[1] One law more we must notice before leaving the subject of slavery. It is set forth in a rescript of Marcus Aurelius, and reflects clearly the benevolent principles which actuated the Emperor in all his public life. The aim of the law was to prevent masters who had stipulated with their slaves that they should be freed if they performed such and such services before a certain time, from evading their contract. The enactment provides that if a slave has been granted his liberty by *fideicommissum*, and the settlement of the accounts has not yet been completed, the enfranchisement of the slave shall not on that account be postponed; "for principles of humanity demand that a money consideration shall never stand in the way of a person's freedom; an arbiter must, however, be appointed at once by the prætor, and before him the newly enfranchised slave shall be compelled to render his account."[2]

Closely allied with the question of slavery is the so-called *patria potestas*, or power of a father over his children. Originally the father had the power of life and death over his son. He could sell him into slavery; he could give him in marriage at his pleasure; and, being responsible for the son's crimes, he was at liberty to inflict any restraint or punishment upon him that he saw fit. The son could acquire property and collect debts due him from third persons; but whatever sums he might accumulate he acquired for his father, and was bound to render them up unless the father released him from this obligation. In short, the position of the son was practically little better than that of the slave, if we except the odium which always attaches to the name of slavery. This *patria potestas* continued as long as the father lived, and extended over his children, grandchildren, and all his descend-

[1] *Iuris anteiustinian. frag.*, c. 220: *Oratio enim diui Marci ita scribta est, ut patroni patronae libertus tutor deligi possit, tametsi aliquo priuilegio subnixus sit.*

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 40, tit. 5, c. 37: "*Neque humanum fuerit ob rei pecuniariae quaestionem libertati moram fieri. qua tamen repraesentata confestim arbiter a praetore erit dandus, apud quem rationem, quam administrasse eum apparuit, ex fide reddat.*"

ants. The point at which it pressed most heavily was with regard to the child's marriage. In this matter the son or daughter was entirely at the parent's caprice. The father might at one time consent to the marriage, and then, before it was consummated, change his mind and order the engagement to be broken off. Indeed, he even possessed the right of having his child divorced after the marriage had taken place; so that the bond that united the daughter to her betrothed, or the wife to her husband, became very precarious. The sanctity of the marriage tie was very slightly felt, and public morality was forced to suffer. Appreciating the danger, Marcus published a rescript declaring that when a father had once consented to his child's marriage, and afterwards made an opposition to it, this opposition could, if reasonable grounds were given, be rendered void, provided the future wife went at once to the house of her affianced for the purpose of celebrating the marriage.[1] In another way Marcus attempted to render the son more independent of his father, or, at all events, to give him a personality distinct from that of his father, viz., by declaring that a son should be in no way tainted by his father's crimes.[2] One of the most serious objections to the theory that the child, in acquiring property, acted only as his father's agent was that it tended to destroy all sentiments of family affection. On the supposition that the child would some day prove a valuable piece of property, the law looked upon any instruction or other benefits which the parents might confer on their children, not as kindnesses, but as investments, which it was for the father's interest to make. This tendency Marcus sought to counteract. We have a rescript of his to a woman who claimed that she had a right to a

[1] Iustinian., *Cod.*, lib. 5, tit. 17, c. 5: *Dissentientis patris, qui initio consensit matrimonio, cum marito concordante uxore filia familias ratam non haberi uoluntatem diuus Marcus pater noster religiosissimus imperator constituit, nisi magna et iusta causa interueniente pater hoc fecerit.*

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 48, tit. 19, c. 26: *Crimen uel poena paterna nullam maculam filio infligere potest: namque unusquisque ex suo admisso sorti subicitur nec alieni criminis successor constituitur, idque diui fratres Hierapolitanis rescripserunt.*

certain sum of money from her father for the payment of her daughter's education; Marcus's reply is, "You have no claim upon your father for that which the sentiments of humanity command you to furnish your daughter, even though *his* father did pay the expenses of educating him."[1] This rescript exhibits a spirit which was somewhat novel at that time, but which the Emperor was continually striving to infuse into the minds of his people. In a number of his laws, as well as throughout his letters, we find references to women, and in all cases he seems to have regarded them as standing on quite as high a plane as men. In one of his rescripts, for example, he recognized the right of a woman to appear in court and enter a public complaint against the method in which the corn-laws were administered.[2] This was, however, quite contrary to the attitude taken generally by his contemporaries. The position of women under the early emperors was, if possible, even more unfortunate than that of sons. Immediately upon marriage all the wife's property, together with anything that she might thereafter acquire, passed into her husband's hands. She was looked upon as belonging to him, and by a strange fiction of the Roman law her status was exactly that of his daughter. It will be seen at once that this was a great hardship to the wife, in case her husband died intestate; for, under the Roman law, all the sons and daughters of the intestate took equal shares, and the widow received no more than each of her sons and daughters. A further hardship was that the *consanguinei*, i. e., all brothers and sisters by the same father, were entirely excluded as long as

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[1] *Dig.*, lib. 25, tit. 3, c. 5, § 14: *Si mater alimenta, quae fecit in filium, a patre repetat, eum modo eam audiendam. ita diuus Marcus rescripsit Antoniae Montanae in haec uerba: "Sed et quantum tibi alimentorum nomine, quibus necessario filiam tuam exhibuisti a patre eius praestari oporteat, iudices aestimabunt, non impetrare debes ea, quae exigente materno affectu in filiam tuam erogatura esses, etiamsi a patre suo educeretur."*

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 48, tit. 12, c. 3: *Item in haec uerba rescripserunt: "Etsi non solent hoc genus nuntiationis mulieres exercere, tamen quia demonstraturam te quae ad utilitatem annonae pertinent polliceris, praefectum annonae docere potes."*

there was a single *heres suus;* so that a widow was prevented from succeeding to any of her children who died intestate, and, in return, they could not inherit from her so long as any of her remote *heredes sui* were living. This injustice was at length remedied by a *senatus consultum*, passed in the reign of Hadrian, and known as the *senatus consultum Tertullianum*, which granted mothers the right to succeed to their children who died intestate, in all cases where the mother was a free woman, and had given birth to three children—the same privilege being granted also to women who had been enfranchised, provided the number of their children was four or over.[1] The converse of this law—without, however, the restriction as to the number of children—was provided by the *senatus consultum Orphitianum*, passed in 178, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius;[2] so that subsequent to this time children succeeded to their mothers, and the mothers to their children, in preference to any of the *heredes sui*. A further measure towards the social elevation of women was adopted by Marcus in 161. It seemed to him unjust that a wife should be represented by her husband in every position which it was desirable to occupy, and yet, when in any pecuniary difficulty, should be compelled to come into court as sole defendant. He therefore provided that a woman might plead through her husband to the charge brought against her by her adversary.[3]

Every Roman child under the age of eight was deemed incapable of performing any legal act. After attaining eight years of age, a boy still continued to be an *impubes* till the end of his

[1] Iustinian., *Inst.*, lib. 3, tit. 3, c. 3.

[2] Ulpian., *Frag.*, tit. 26, c. 7: *Imperatorum Antonini et Commodi oratione in senatu recitata id actum est, ut matrum legitimae hereditates ad filios pertineant, exclusis consanguineis et reliquis agnatis.* See, also, Iustinian., *Inst.*, lib. 3, tit. 3, c. 4; *Dig.*, lib. 38, tit. 17, c. 6, 7, and 9; *Cod.*, lib. 6, tit. 57, c. 1; and Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 11.

[3] Iustinian., *Cod.*, lib. 2, tit. 12, c. 2: *Diui fratres Sextiliae. Cum rem pecuniariam esse dicas, potes per maritum tuum sollemnibus impletis appellationi aduersariae respondere, cum appellationes pecuniariae etiam per procuratores exerceri ab utraque parte litigantium possunt. Accepta VIII. kal. Aug. ipsis III. et II. conss.*

fourteenth year, and a girl till the end of her twelfth year; and if children remained in the *patria potestas* they did not acquire the capacity to perform legal acts until they ceased to be *impubes*. When, however, the father died before the child attained the age of puberty, it obviously became important that the son or daughter should be capable of performing certain acts with reference to his or her property; yet it was, of course, impossible to allow the child to assume all the duties and responsibilities which attend the possession of wealth. A *tutor* was, therefore, appointed, either by the will of the deceased father or by some public official, and his duty was to look after the property of the *pupillus;* but his power did not extend to the person of the ward, nor did he have absolute control over the property. The ward was capable of performing all legal acts with the authority of his *tutor*, and even without that authority he might perform any acts which were for his own advantage. When the ward attained the age of puberty the power of the *tutor* ceased. In some cases, however, it was found expedient to appoint a *curator* to take care of the property, even after the owner was of age. The commonest cases were where the person was an idiot or a spendthrift, or where he himself made application to the prætor that a *curator* might be appointed. The *curator*, in these cases, seems to have possessed very nearly the same authority that the *tutor* exercised over his *impubes*. With reference to each of these offices the Emperor Marcus Aurelius introduced an innovation of some importance. In the first place, he instituted a *praetor tutelaris*, whose duty it was to superintend the acts of the *tutores* in Rome and the city diocese.[1] The *tutores* had previously been compelled to account only in a vague sort of way to the consuls, and the new measure was passed for the purpose of insuring a more rigorous examination of their management. This innovation was adopted between the years 161 and 169.[2] With regard to the regulation

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 10: *Praetorem tutelarem primus fecit cum ante tutores a consulibus poscerentur, ut diligentius de tutoribus tractaretur.* See also *Iuris anteiustinian. frag.*, c. 205, 232, and 241.

[2] See the inscription in Henzen, *no.* 6485. The statement of Paulus in

which Capitolinus tells us[1] the Emperor Marcus effected in the matter of the *curatores* there has been a good deal of discussion. The general belief is that he extended the practice of appointing *curatores* so as to embrace all minors, i. e., all persons under the age of twenty-five, who were not in *patria potestas*.[2] And if so, it was certainly a wise method of putting an end to the numerous losses and frauds to which the young men from fifteen to twenty-five had previously been exposed. These two changes in the law of guardianship called for further alterations in the method of appointing *tutores* and *curatores*. The power of appointment was left, as before, in the hands of the father of the child. If, however, he failed to nominate any one by his will, and if the persons entitled by law to undertake the duty did not present themselves, the question arose, upon whom the appointment should devolve. Previously to Marcus's innovation the power of appointing *tutores* rested, in Rome and the city diocese, with the consuls, and in the provinces with the proconsul or other governor of the province. So far, Marcus seems to have left the subject very nearly as he found it;[3] but the strictness

the *Iuris anteiustinian. frag.*, c. 244: *Ex epistola diuorum Hadriani et Antonini et fratrum ad Caerellium Priscum praetorem tutelarem*, would seem to assign the institution of the *praetor tutelaris* to a time previous to the reign of Marcus Aurelius; but it is agreed by Mommsen, in the *Berichten der Gesellschaft der Wissensch. zu Leipzig.* Leipz., 1853. p. 270; by Rein, *Das Privatrecht*, p. 518; and by Borghesi, in Rome. Istit. di corrisp. archeol. *Annal. dell' inst. per l'anno* 1853. Roma, 1853. pp. 191–3, that the proper reading in this passage is *epistolis*, not *epistola*, which makes it still more evident that Paulus is referring here to three separate rescripts—the one *ad Caerellium praetorem tutelarem* being that of the *fratres* (Marcus and Lucius).

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 10: *De curatores uero cum ante non nisi ex lege Plaetoria uel propter lasciuiam vel propter dementiam darentur, ita statuit ut omnes adulti curatores acciperent non redditis causis.*

[2] This seems to be justified by Iustinian., *Inst.*, lib. 1, tit. 23: *Masculi puberes et feminae uiripotentes usque ad uicesimum quintum annum completum curatores accipiunt; quia licet puberes sint, adhuc tamen eius aetatis sunt ut sua negotia tueri non possint.* See also Iustinian., *Inst.*, lib. 1, tit. 24; and *Dig.*, lib. 4, tit. 4, c. 1, § 3.

[3] Gaius, *Inst.*, lib. 1, c. 198: *Ex iisdem causis et in prouinciis a praesidibus earum curatores dari uoluit.*

which he insisted on in the appointment of a *tutor* or *curator* for every child under twenty-five years of age increased the duties of the imperial authorities so greatly that, in addition to the *praetor tutelaris*, which he established for Rome and the city diocese, he permitted the proconsuls in the provinces to delegate their power to their lieutenants whenever they found it impossible to undertake it themselves.[1] In one case, too, he intrusted the duty of appointing *tutores* to the *iuridicus* at Alexandria.[2] Now it will be at once apparent that if some method were not devised by which the *tutores* and *curatores* might be compelled, when appointed by the imperial authorities, to accept the duties imposed upon them, the entire purpose of the new measure would be frustrated. Indeed, the law seems to have been passed solely with reference to those cases where no one was willing to present himself voluntarily as the orphan's guardian. It was based upon the principle of family responsibility, which plays so great a part in the Roman law, the natural corollary of which was that every child's nearest relative was bound to look after the child's interests; so that if the relative did not take upon himself voluntarily this duty, it was deemed but just that the state should exert a controlling influence upon him. Marcus Aurelius, therefore, merely codified an acknowledged principle in the law when he enacted that if a father appoints any one as *tutor* or *curator* to his children, that person is bound to accept the position, unless he can allege some good reason for being excused.[3] And this law extended with even greater propriety to those *tutores* and *curatores* who were appointed by the emperor. The grounds on which persons appointed were excused would, of course, be very various. It

[1] *Dig.*, lib. 26, tit. 5, c. 1, § 1: *Legatus quoque proconsulis ex oratione diui Marci tutorem dari potest.* See also *Dig.*, lib. 1, tit. 16, c. 15.

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 1, tit. 20, c. 2: *Iuridico, qui Alexandriae agit, datio tutoris constitutione diui Marci concessa est.*

[3] *Dig.*, lib. 27, tit. 1, c. 15, §§ 1 and 2: Ὁ τῷ πατρὶ ἐπαγγειλάμενος ἐπιτροπεύειν τῶν παίδων ἀφίεσθαι ταύτης τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς οὐ δύναται, κἂν ἄλλως ἔχῃ δίκαια ἀφέσεως. Εἰδέναι δεῖ ὅτι ἀξίωμα οὐδενὶ παρέξει παραίτησιν. ὅθεν ἐάν τις συγκλητικὸς ᾖ, οὗτος ἐπιτροπεύσει καὶ τῶν καταδεεστέρας τάξεως ὄντων συγκλητικῶν, ὅπερ ἀντέγραψαν οἱ θειότατοι Μάρκος καὶ Κόμμοδος.

is possible, however, to give an imperfect list of them, and it will be observed that the law on this subject was developed mainly in the rescripts of Marcus Aurelius. In the first place, he declared that no person connected with the treasury should be compelled, so long as his fiscal duties continued, to act either as *tutor* or as *curator*.[1] Indeed, we learn in another place that any one exercising any office of power under the state might be excused, but that if he had already undertaken his tutelary duties, he could not be released therefrom by being appointed to a public office.[2] Further, those who already had three or more children of their own to look after were, as a rule, excused by Marcus from accepting tutorships, on the ground that their time was fully occupied in caring for the interests of their own family.[3] Poverty could, also, according to a rescript of Marcus, be alleged, and would be accepted as a valid excuse for not entering upon the duties of guardianship.[4] Again, in another rescript of the same emperor, it was declared that the *mensores frumentarii*, i. e., persons who were engaged in measuring the corn conveyed up the Tiber for the public granaries, were excused from acting as *tutores* or *curatores*.[5] This was in order that a department which was of such vital importance to the public welfare might not suffer by even a temporary absence of its

[1] Iustinian., *Inst.*, lib. 1, tit. 25, c. 1: *Item diuus Marcus in semenstribus rescripsit, eum qui res fisci administrat, a tutela uel cura, quamdiu administrat, excusari posse.* See also *Dig.*, lib. 27, tit. 1, c. 41.

[2] Iustinian., *Inst.*, lib. 1, tit. 25, c. 3: *Et qui potestatem habent aliquam, se excusare possunt, ut diuus Marcus rescripsit; sed coeptam tutelam desrere non possunt.* See also *Dig.*, lib. 27, tit. 1, c. 17, § 5.

[3] *Iuris anteiustinian. frag.*, c. 247: *Qui tres pluresue liberos habent superstites, excusari solent idque compluribus constitutionibus cauetur tam diuorum Marci et Luci, quibus Pontium Marcellum trium liberorum patrem liberauerunt litteris ad eum emissis, quam dominorum nostrorum.*

[4] Iustinian., *Inst.*, lib. 1, tit. 25, c. 6: *Sed et propter pauperitatem excusationem tribui tam diui fratres quam per se diuus Marcus rescripsit, si quis imparem se oneri iniuncto possit docere.* See also *Dig.*, lib. 27, tit. 1, c. 7; and *Iuris anteiustinian. frag.*, c. 185, 240, and 243.

[5] *Dig.*, lib. 27, tit. 1, c. 26: *Mensores frumentarios habere ius excusationis apparet ex rescripto diuorum Marcia et Commodi, quod rescripserunt praefecto annonae.*

servants. In some cases, also, we find that Marcus allowed insignificance, or rusticity, or domestic difficulties, to serve as a good excuse.[1] So, too, if a man was chosen as *tutor* or *curator* at Rome, and he did not live there, or in one province while his home was in another.[2] For similar reasons no inhabitant of Rome or the city diocese was obliged to accept a tutorship in any of the regions of Italy which were under the supervision of the *iuridici*, or in any of the provinces. But the Emperor took care to enact that those who accepted legacies under the testament which appointed them *tutores*, were bound to accept the tutorships also.[3] Lastly, we have a rescript which exhibits in a striking way the character of Marcus. Previous to his time it was the law that no person who was seventy years of age could be compelled to accept a tutorship. But now the Emperor declared that old age could not be pleaded as an excuse. It seemed to him a mistake that the state should be deprived of the sound judgment and ripe experience which comes with advancing years; and he therefore insisted that no one who had seen seventy years of life should be excused, unless some special ground of incapacity were shown.[4] Thus we see that it was the question of expediency which governed Marcus in all these regulations. He never compelled any one to accept the guardianship of a

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[1] *Iuris anteiustinian. frag.*, c. 244: *Mediocritas et rusticitas et domesticae lites interdum excusationes merentur ex epistula diuorum Hadriani et Antonini et fratrum ad Caerellium Priscum praetorem tutelarem.*

[2] *Iuris anteiustinian. frag.*, c. 203: *Est et hoc genus excusationis, si quis se dicat domicilium non habere Romae delectus ad munus uel in ea prouincia, ubi domicilium non habet, idque et diuus Marcus Pertinaci et Aeliano consulibus rescripsit.*

[3] *Iuris anteiustinian. frag.*, c. 205: *Proinde si quis ad urbicam diocesim pertinens testamento tutor datur, excusare se debebit ab eo patrimonio, quod in regionibus iuridicorum est, similiter a re prouinciali; sed caueat, si legatum accepit, hoc facere; licite enim urbana sola administrat, uerum quia non in plenum uoluntati paret, legati ei relicti petitio denegabitur, idque diuus Marcus in eo, qui se a re prouinciali excusauit testamento tutor datus, Claudio Pulchro rescripsit.*

[4] *Dig.*, lib. 36, tit. 1, c. 76: *Quamuis scire se diceret a diuo Marco non excusatum a tutela eum qui septuagensimum annum aetatis ingressus fuisset.*

child if he felt that the guardian would be deterred thereby from performing some greater service to the public. But in all cases where a guardian was appointed, he insisted that if no excuse were alleged within a certain prescribed time, the guardian should lose his privilege of pleading an excuse.[1] It must not be supposed, however, that the Emperor, in his zeal to obtain guardians for the orphan children, was careless in the appointments which he made, or that he intrusted this important duty to unworthy persons. He provided expressly that if the authorities of any city were unable to decide on a person in their own town who, in their judgment, was fitted for the office, it should be their duty to ask the authorities of the neighboring cities to nominate some honorable citizen for them.[2] Further than this, he took every precaution to prevent the nomination of any man whose reputation was at all questionable; and enacted that if any third person should come forward and make a *bona fide* complaint of the appointment of a certain *curator*, the *curator* should be excused and another chosen in his place.[3] He also applied to the case of the guardians now appointed by the public authorities an old law, which had been passed for the purpose of securing children against incompetency or rascality on the part of *tutores* appointed by their parents. By this regulation, if several persons were appointed to act as *tutores* in common, and one of them offered to furnish a bond for the faithful performance of his duties, he was empowered to administer alone if the others refused

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[1] *Dig.*, lib. 26, tit. 7, c. 1, § 1: *Id enim a diuo Marco constitutum est, ut qui scit se tutorem datum nec excusationem si quam habet allegat intra tempore praestituta, suo periculo cesset.*

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 26, tit. 5, c. 24: *Diui Marcus et Verus Cornelio Proculo.* "*Si quando desint in ciuitate, ex qua pupilli oriundi sunt, qui idonei uideantur esse tutores, officium sit magistratuum inquirere ex uicinis ciuitatibus honestissimum quemque et nomina praesidi prouinciae mittere, non ipsos arbitrium dandi sibi uindicare.*"

[3] *Dig.*, lib. 27, tit. 1, c. 6, § 18: Ἔτι ἀπολύεται ἐπιτροπῆς, ὁπόταν ἀμφισβήτησίν τις τῷ ὀρφανῷ περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως κινῇ, φαίνεται δὲ τοῦτο μὴ συκοφαντίᾳ ποιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ καλῆς πίστεως· καὶ τοῦτο οἱ θειότατοι Μάρκος καὶ Βῆρος ἐνεμοθέτησαν.

to furnish securities.' The same edict, however, provided that a third person could neither insist that the *tutores* appointed should give security, nor oust them by offering security himself. With regard to the duties of the guardians, when once appointed, they seem to have remained about the same as under the more circumscribed system of Marcus's predecessors.[2] At all events, the duties of the *curatores* are scarcely to be distinguished from those of the *tutores*, except that the *tutores* held their position only so long as the ward remained *impubes*. Immediately upon his attaining puberty, the *curator* stepped into the shoes of the *tutor*, and represented him in all his relations. This is expressly declared by a rescript of the Emperor himself.[3]

Under a system where the status of a man before the law depended so largely upon the class of society or upon the family in which he was born, it was obviously important that there should be some method of determining accurately the

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[1] *Dig.*, lib. 26, tit. 2, c. 19 and § 1: *Si nemo tutorum prouocet ad satisdationem, sed exsistat quidam qui tutor non est desideraretque, ut aut satisdent tutores aut, si non dent, parato sibi satisdare committant tutelam, non est audiendus: neque enim aut extero committenda tutela est, aut testamento dati tutores contra ius satisdationi subiciendi sunt. Hoc edictum de satisdatione ad tutores testamentarios pertinet: sed et si ex inquisitione dati sint tutores, Marcellus ait et ad hos pertinere hoc edictum et id oratione etiam diuorum fratrum significari.*

[2] This point has, however, afforded a theme for considerable discussion. On the entire subject of Marcus Aurelius's measures with reference to guardianship, the reader is referred to Savigny's article *Von dem Schutz der Minderjährigen im röm. Recht*, in the *Hist.-phil. Abhandlungen der königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, aus dem Jahre 1833, pp. 1–39; A. F. Rudorff, *Das Recht der Vormundschaft aus den gemeinen in Deutschland geltenden Rechten entwickelt*. Berl., 1832–4. 3 v. 8°; Mommsen's article on *Epigraphischen Analecten*, in the *Berichten der königl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*. Leipz., 1852. 8°. v. 4, pp. 268–72; Rein, *Das Privatrecht*, pp. 512–51; and Borghesi's articles in the *Giornale arcadico*, 1824, v. 22, pp. 82–6, and in Rome. Istit. di corrisp. archeol. *Annal. dell' inst. per l'anno* 1853. *Roma*, 1853. pp. 190–5.

[3] *Dig.*, lib. 26, tit. 7, c. 33, § 1: *Officium tutorum curatoribus constitutis finem accipit ideoque omnia negotia, quae inita sunt, ad fidem curatorum pertinent: idque etiam diuus Marcus cum filio suo Commodo rescripsit.*

birth of each member of the community. This need became still more pressing as enfranchisements grew more frequent; and, at length, disputes in regard to the condition of freedmen who had moved away from the place of their enfranchisement became so numerous, that it was found necessary to adopt some regulation establishing clearly the status of every citizen in the Empire. Marcus Aurelius, therefore, in a speech before the senate, recommended that the prætor should keep his office open to the public, even during the court-vacations, for the purpose, among other things, of probating births.[1] Indeed, he went further, and appointed one of the prefects connected with the treasury department to make a public return once a month of all the free children born within the last thirty days, together with their names. Throughout the provinces, too, he ordered registers to be kept in the public archives similar to those contained in the prefect's report at Rome.[2] Further, he originated the practice of making

[1] *Dig.*, lib. 2, tit. 12, c. 2: *Eadem oratione diuus Marcus in senatu recitata effecit de aliis speciebus praetorem adiri etiam diebus feriaticis: ut puta . . . aetates probentur.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 9: *Inter haec liberales causas ita muniuit ut primus iuberet apud praefectos aerarii Saturni unumquemque ciuium natos liberos profiteri intra tricensimum diem nomine imposito. per prouincias tabulariorum publicorum usum instituit, apud quos idem de originibus fieret quod Romae apud praefectos aerarii, ut si forte aliquis in prouincia natus causam liberalem diceret testationes inde ferret. atque hanc totam legem de adsertionibus firmauit.* This passage has been the subject of a good deal of discussion, chiefly because of the expression "*primus iuberet.*" That the births of children were sometimes registered in public before the time of Marcus Aurelius is certain. In Dionysius *Halicarnensis*, *Antiq. Roman.*, lib. 4, c. 15, we read that the method pursued by L. Piso, who wrote his *Annales* about one hundred and fifty years before Christ, in order to find out the number of births, deaths, or persons fit for military service, was to compute the sums which had to be contributed to the several treasuries for every one born, assuming the toga, or dead; and then, by dividing the total amount received by each one's quota, he was enabled to compute the number of the citizens and the number of persons of military age. This, however, is no authority in support of the belief that a register of the birth and name of every child was kept in those early times. Indeed, it is a conclusive proof to the contrary; for, if any such list had existed, it is impossible that L. Piso, in compiling his *Annales*, should have resorted to

an investigation every five years, in order to establish accurately the legal status of all persons deceased within the preceding quinquennium.[1] In these ways the innumerable disputes which had hitherto arisen on questions of heredity, kinship, and enfranchisement were in great measure done away with; and whenever they did come before the courts, the difficulty could at once be settled by a reference to the prefect's lists or to the provincial registers.

A kindred subject is that of marriage. There is scarcely a subject which, in any country, has furnished greater difficulty to legislators than this; and at the same time it would be impossible to find one which is of more vital importance to the welfare of the community. The aim is always to increase

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such a complicated and uncertain method of investigation as the one above mentioned. Another writer, who has been cited as an authority in support of the opinion that public registers of the births existed previously to the time of Marcus Aurelius, is Suetonius, who says (in his *Tiberius*, c. 5) that Tiberius "*natus est Romae in Palatio XVI. kal. Dec. M. Aemilio Lepido iterum, L. Munatio Planco conss. per bellum Philippense. Sic enim in fastos actaque in publica relatum est.*" But it will be noticed that the reference here is to the *fasti* and *acta publica*, expressions whose meaning is made clear by Suetonius himself in his life of *Augustus*, c. 5, where he states distinctly that he found the day of Augustus's birth in the *acta senatus*. Again, we are referred to a passage in Suetonius's *Caligula*, c. 8, where the historian mentions that the birthday of Caligula's son is given in the *acta Anti*. But in every instance where Suetonius informs us of the birthday of an emperor or other person, he takes the trouble to say that different writers have assigned different dates, which could not possibly have been the case had there been in existence at that time any such registers as were instituted by Marcus Aurelius. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the word "*primus*," as used by Capitolinus, is to be taken literally; and that Marcus Aurelius was the first to establish an accurate registry of all births throughout the Empire. For a discussion of the various views on this subject see Brissonius's *Select. antiquitat.*, lib. 1, c. 5 (also Trekell's note on p. 10 of his edition of the *Opera minora* of Brissonius. Lugd. Bat., 1749. 4°); C. G. Heyne's *Opusc. acad.*, v. 6, p. 76; A. W. Cramer's *In Iuuenal. satir. comm. uetust.* Hamb., 1823. 8°. p. 367; and especially Dirksen's *Die Script. hist. Aug.*, pp. 183–93.

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 10: *De statu etiam defunctorum intra quinquennium quaeri iussit.* This subject is treated with great perspicuity by Dirksen, in his *Die Script. hist. Aug.*, pp. 68 and 193–7.

rather than to restrain the number of marriages; and this result has never been more imperatively needed than in the early years of the Roman Empire. The morals of married life had become so lax, during the Republic, that the Roman people at last found themselves threatened with a national calamity. Under a system where the wife was looked upon as a mere piece of property, and where marriages could be dissolved without any consent from the public authorities, domestic life was scarcely distinguishable from a life of adultery. Instances are innumerable of men in the highest places of society who put away their lawful wives in order to live with some younger woman, often a favorite freedwoman. Frequently, without any divorce (and it is really difficult to discover in what a divorce consisted, according to the Roman law), we find a husband living in open adultery with the wife of another man; sometimes by consent of all the parties. Two unfortunate results followed upon this state of things: first, the injury to public chastity; and, secondly, the diminution of a legitimate and freeborn population. Both these evils it had been the aim of numerous enactments to prevent; but no such laws can ever be more than partially successful. Legislators can set an example of morality, and can point out this or that course of conduct as illegal; but they can accomplish little else. Seeing this, the Emperor Marcus Aurelius did not attempt to promulgate many new laws; his aim was rather to remedy the defects in those which already existed. For instance, ever since the Julian law was passed, which permitted the father of a woman caught in adultery to kill both his daughter and her adulterer, there had prevailed a superstitious feeling that if he did not succeed in killing both of the parties it was a proof that the gods were adverse to him; and he was liable to be punished as a murderer. It seemed to Marcus that this distinction could not be maintained. He therefore abolished it; and, in order to satisfy the people, laid special emphasis on the fact that the will of the gods was manifest in their allowing one of the guilty parties to remain alive.[1] A

[1] *Dig.*, lib. 48, tit. 5, c. 33: *Sed diuus Marcus et Commodus rescripserunt*

husband, too, he excused, if, on detecting his wife in adultery, he was so overwhelmed with mortification that he took her life.[1] According to the Roman law, there were certain classes of persons who, if found in adultery, could, without offence, be put to death by certain other persons. In one instance there was brought before the Emperor a man who, though not one of those privileged by the law, had nevertheless killed another whom he caught in adultery. Marcus felt that it would be dangerous to let the offender go unpunished. He gave orders, however, that his punishment be lighter than that which would be inflicted for ordinary cases of murder.[2] There were certain marriages which, by statutory provisions, were made illegal; and, if a marriage was contracted between two persons in regard to whom there existed any legal impediment, it was declared void. These legal impediments, being sometimes raised for particular emergencies, were by no means always obvious; so that illegal marriages were occasionally contracted by perfectly innocent persons. In such cases it was a very severe punishment for the authorities to annul the marriage and declare all the children born therefrom illegitimate. We have a rescript which Marcus rendered on a case of this kind; it rehearses the various circumstances which prove the parents to have acted innocently, and ends by declaring that the children shall hold precisely the same position as if the marriage had been legitimate.[3] One of the great evils inci-

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impunitatem ei concedi, quia, licet interempto adultero mulier superuixerit post tam grauia uulnera, quae ei pater inflixerat, magis fato quam uoluntate eius seruata est: quia lex parem in eos, qui deprehensi sunt, indignationem exigit et seueritatem requirit.

[1] *Dig.*, lib. 48, tit. 5, c. 39, § 8: *Imperator Marcus Antoninus et Commodus filius rescripserunt:* "*Si maritus uxorem in adulterio deprehensam impetu tractus doloris interfecerit, non utique legis Corneliae de sicariis poenam excipiet.*"

[2] *Mosaic. et Rom. leg. coll.*, tit. 4, c. 3, § 6: *Sciendum est autem, diuum Marcum et Commodum rescripsisse, eum, qui adulterum inlicite interfecerit, leuiori poena puniri.*

[3] *Dig.*, lib. 23, tit. 2, c. 57^: *Diuus Marcus et Lucius imperatores Flauiae Tertullae per mensorem libertum ita rescripserunt:* "*Mouemur et temporis diuturnitate, quo ignara iuris in matrimonio auunculi tui fuisti, et quod ab*

dent to the loose system of marriages among the Roman people was the danger that the children would not be properly brought up and educated. Marcus, therefore, listened with very favorable ears to any concubines who introduced petitions for the support of their children. In 162 he rendered a decision compelling a father to support the child borne him by his concubine, leaving it to the discretion of the judge to decide whether or not the father should not also be obliged to contribute to the child's education.[1] On the other hand, in cases where a husband divorced himself from his wife, maternal affection often acted as so powerful a motive that the woman, even though scarcely able to keep herself from penury, denied that she was pregnant, for fear that the child, when born, should be taken from her. The chances were that in these instances the child would suffer greatly by being left to be supported entirely by its mother. Marcus, therefore, favored in every way the wishes of all husbands who were desirous of bringing up their children; and, in one case of this kind, the counsel employed by him devised a curious method by which the husband might ascertain the fact of his wife's pregnancy and obtain the release of the child upon its birth.[2] In like manner, the Emperor recommended an inves-

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auia tua collocata es, et numero liberorum uestrorum: idcircoque cum haec omnia in unum concurrunt, confirmamus statum liberorum uestrorum in eo matrimonio quaesitorum, quod ante annos quadraginta contractum est, perinde atque si legitime concepti fuissent."

[1] Iustinian., *Cod.*, lib. 5, tit. 25, c. 3: *Idem* [*i.e. diui fratres*] AA. *Tatianae. Si competenti iudici eum, quem te ex Claudio enixam esse dicis, filium eius esse probaueris, alimenta ei pro modo facultatum praestari iubebit. idem, an apud eum educari debeat, aestimabit. PP. XIII. kal. Mart. Romae Rustico et Aquilino conss.*

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 25, tit. 4, c. 1: *Temporibus diuorum fratrum cum hoc incidisset, ut maritus quidem praegnatem mulierem diceret, uxor negaret, consulti Valerio Prisciano praetori urbano rescripserunt in haec uerba: "Nouam rem desiderare Rutilius Seuerus uidetur, ut uxori, quae ab eo diuerterat et se non esse praegnatem profiteatur, custodem apponat, et ideo nemo mirabitur, si nos quoque nouum consilium et remedium suggeramus. igitur si perstat in eadem postulatione, commodissimum est eligi honestissimae feminae domum, in qua Domitia ueniat, et ibi tres obstetrices probatae et artis et fidei, quae a*

tigation when a mother sought to prove that her offspring was legitimate.[1] Fearing that injury might result from unions between persons ill-suited to each other in age or rank, Marcus passed a law prohibiting the marriage of a *tutor* with his pupil; and to prevent fraud the *tutor* was not even allowed to become betrothed to his pupil, and marry her after laying down his guardianship.[2] In order to encourage the growth of the best and most useful classes of society, the Emperor enacted that no senator's daughter should be permitted to marry one of her father's freedmen.[3] He also encouraged the marriage of soldiers by decreeing that the *ius trium liberorum* —a privilege enjoyed by those who possessed three descendants in the male line (i. e., children, or the children of a son)— might also be enjoyed by those who had three descendants only by counting through a daughter, provided that daughter was married to a Roman soldier.[4]

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te assumptae fuerint, eam inspiciant. et si quidem uel omnes uel duae renuntiauerint praegnatem uideri, tunc persuadendum mulieri erit, ut perinde custodem admittat atque si ipsa hoc desiderasset: quod si enixa non fuerit, sciat maritus ad inuidiam existimationemque suam pertinere, ut non immerito possit uideri captasse hoc ad aliquam mulieris iniuriam. si autem uel omnes uel plures non esse grauidam renuntiauerint, nulla causa custodiendi erit."

[1] *Dig.*, lib. 22, tit. 3, c. 29: *Imperatores Antoninus et Verus Augusti Claudio Apolinari rescripserunt in haec uerba: "Probationes, quae de filiis dantur, non in sola adfirmatione testium consistunt, sed et epistolas, quae uxoribus missae allegarentur, si de fide earum constet, nonnullam uicem instrumentorum optinere decretum est." Mulier grauida repudiata, filium enixa, absente marito ut spurium in actis professa est. quaesitum est an is in potestate patris sit et matre intestata mortua iussu eius hereditatem matris adire possit nec obsit professio a matre irata facta. respondit, ueritati locum superfore.*

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 23, tit. 2, c. 60 and § 5: *Paulus libro singulari ad orationem diui Antonini et Commodi. . . . Quamuis uerbis orationis cautum sit, ne uxorem tutor pupillam suam ducat, tamen intelligendum est ne desponderi quidem posse.*

[3] *Dig.*, lib. 23, tit. 2, c. 16: *Oratione diui Marci cauetur, ut, si senatoris filia libertino nupsisset, nec nuptiae essent.* Also, *Dig.*, lib. 23, tit. 1, c. 16: *Oratio imperatorum Antonini et Commodi, quae quasdam nuptias in personam senatorum inhibuit, etc.*

[4] *Iuris anteiustinian. frag.*, c. 195: *Enim secundum orationem diui Marci,*

No portion, probably, of the Roman law was found by Marcus in such a deplorable condition as the law of inheritance. We have already found it necessary to deal somewhat with this question, especially with reference to the rights of children, wives, and slaves. We shall now consider the subject rather more in detail. It has been the universal experience of legislative bodies that justice can be more certainly and expeditiously obtained under a strict administration of the rules of law than under a system which attempts to isolate each particular case from all those which have preceded, and to decide it purely upon a consideration of its own individual circumstances. To this rule there is in the common law one marked exception. Testaments, which are presumed to be drawn up, as a rule, without legal advice, and which present in themselves an almost infinite variety of circumstances, are deemed to be scarcely capable of precedent; and are, therefore, treated with greater leniency than any other subject of the common law. In the Roman law, on the other hand, the rigidity of interpretation, which became even more marked as the mass of precedents accumulated, seems to have been applied with equal cruelty to testaments and to other documents. To remedy this evil, to facilitate the transmission of property by will, was one of the aims for which the reign of Marcus Aurelius is celebrated. As we have already seen, a son while still in *patria potestas* was incapable of holding any property. Whatever he might earn belonged in law to his father, or, if his father was not living, to the person in whose *patria potestas* he was at the time. As a consequence of this principle a *filius familiae* was, of course, incompetent to bequeath anything by will. As long as the son continued a member of his father's family the injustice of the system was not so apparent. It pressed hardest on those who resided at a distance from

quam in castris praetoris recitauit Paulo iterum et Aproniano conss. VIII. id. Ian., id habebit auus, quod habet in nepotibus ex filio natis. Cuius orationis uerba haec sunt: "et quo facilius ueterani nostri soceros repperiant, illos quoque nouo priuilegio sollicitauimus, ut auus nepotum ex ueterano praetoriano natorum iisdem commodis nomine eorum fruatur, quibus frueretur, si eos haberet ex filio."

their fathers, or who were engaged in some foreign and independent occupation, as, for example, in the pursuit of war. To abolish entirely the right of *patria potestas* over all children twenty-one years of age would have been a step too far in advance of the general conceptions of the times. We have already had occasion, however, to observe some of the measures which Marcus Aurelius felt justified in taking, in order to secure to the son some degree of independence. He now felt that he could, by a single act, promote the independence of the son, and improve the condition of the soldier. He therefore decreed that soldiers, even though in *patria potestas*, should be at liberty to dispose by will of any property which they had acquired in the army.[1] Another method by which Marcus attempted to facilitate the transmission of property was with reference to the so-called prætorian succession. In the earlier times no property at Rome could be transferred by will unless in accordance with a cumbersome process called *mancipatio*, corresponding in some respects to the livery of seizin in the common law. This method was felt in time to be so inconvenient, and under it so many persons were defrauded of their inheritance by some slight flaw in the proceedings, that the prætors grew into the habit of granting a new sort of succession, called *bonorum possessio*, in those cases where the deceased had failed to make a will. The full name of this prætorian succession was *bonorum possessio intestati;* and it was found to be such a simple method that it supplanted to a great degree the old manner of succession. Indeed, it was frequently preferred and made use of by those who were also entitled to the inheritance in accordance with the terms of the will, but who were not allowed to succeed through the will by reason of some failure in the proper legal ceremonies. So the prætorian succession came to be known under two

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[1] Ulpian., *Frag.*, tit. 20, c. 10: *Filius familiae testamentum facere non potest, quoniam nihil suum habet, ut testari de eo possit. sed diuus Augustus Marcus constituit, ut filius familiae miles de eo peculio, quod in castris adquisiuit, testamentum facere possit.* See also Theophilus, *Inst.*, lib. 2, tit. 10, c. 9.

heads: the *bonorum possessio intestati*, and the *bonorum possessio secundum tabulas;* of which the former, since it was the earlier one established, would always prevail against the latter. This, however, Marcus deemed unjust. Both kinds of prætorian succession having been established in order to transfer the property in cases where there was no valid will, he maintained that of two claimants to the inheritance that one should be preferred whose claim was based upon an invalid testament rather than he whose claim was founded upon no testament at all. This decision is set forth in a rescript which he delivered.[1] The method of relying, in the interpretation of wills, rather upon the intention of the testator than upon the strict form of the document (a principle which has been incorporated into the common law), is conspicuous in several rescripts of the Emperor. In one case, for example, we read that he held all formal words unnecessary, and even permitted a testament to be written in a foreign tongue, provided only the meaning was made clear.[2] Another instance is the following: A certain Nepos, then deceased, had made his will in due form; but afterwards, for some reason, had changed his mind with reference to the heir, and erased the name of the man whom he had instituted. Before being able to appoint any other heir he died. In strict law, therefore, the entire will was void; but, since it was evident that the will expressed accurately the disposition which the testator wished to make of his property, Marcus declared that the legacies must be discharged in accordance with the testator's wish.[3] A further proof of the Emperor's desire to do away

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[1] Gaius, *Inst.*, lib. 2, c. 120: *Rescripto enim Imperatoris Antonini significatur, eos qui secundum tabulas testamenti non iure factas bonorum possessionem petierint, posse aduersus eos qui ab intestato uindicant hereditatem defendere se per exceptionem doli mali.* See also Poste's commentary on the *Institutes* of Gaius, pp. 188–9.

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 28, tit. 1, c. 20, § 9: *Non tamen intellegentiam sermonis exigimus: hoc enim diuus Marcus Didio Iuliano in teste, qui Latine non nouerat, rescripsit: nam si uel sensu percipiat quis, cui rei adhibitus sit, sufficere.*

[3] *Dig.*, lib. 28, tit. 4, c. 3: *Antoninus Caesar remotis omnibus cum delibe-*

with all formality in matters of inheritance is shown in the very slight importance which he attached to the so-called *cretio*. In the Roman law, by which the heir stepped into the shoes of the deceased and represented his entire personality, it had always been deemed important that, on entering upon his duties, he should declare solemnly by *cretio* his intention of becoming heir. He was allowed, however, if a *heres institutus*, to act *pro herede* without making this declaration. But in that case he was bound to admit the *heres substitutus*, if there was one, to a share in the inheritance. Marcus, now, took another step towards the abolition of the formal *cretio*, by permitting the *heres institutus* to act as sole heir even without making the declaration.[1] Finally, he passed a law for the purpose of securing children from being defrauded of their inheritance by their guardians. It had long been customary for testators, in making their wills, to provide that, in case the person whom they instituted heir failed to accept, a certain other person should be substituted heir. This was called the *substitutio uulgaris*. When the heir instituted by the will was the testator's *impubes* child, it was customary to substitute an heir to succeed in case the child should die

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rasset et admitti rursus eodem iussisset, dixit: "Causa praesens admittere uidetur humaniorem interpretationem, ut ea dumtaxat existimemus Nepotem irrita esse uoluisse, quae induxit." Nomen serui, quem liberum esse iusserat, induxit. Antoninus rescripsit liberum eum nihilo minus fore: quod uidelicet fauore constituit libertatis. A similar decision of Marcus Aurelius is found in *Dig.*, lib. 34, tit. 9, c. 12: *Cum quidam scripsisset heredes quos instituere non potuerat, quamuis institutio non ualeret neque superius testamentum ruptum esset, heredibus tamen ut indignis, qui non habuerunt supremam uoluntatem, abstulit iam pridem hereditatem. quod diuus Marcus in eius persona iudicauit, cuius nomen peracto testamento testator induxerat: causam enim ad praefectos aerarii misit: uerum ab eo legata relicta salua manserunt.* And again, in *Dig.*, lib. 34, tit. 9, c. 16, § 2: *Cum heredis nomen mutata uoluntate pater familias incisis tabulis induxisset atque ideo fisco portionis emolumentum adiudicatum fuisset, eam rem legatariis non obesse, qui retinuerant uoluntatem, diuo Marco placuit, et ideo cum suo onere fiscum succedere.*

[1] Ulpian., *Frag.*, tit. 22, c. 34: *Sed postea diuus Marcus constituit, ut et pro herede gerendo ex asse fiat heres.*

before attaining puberty. This was the *substitutio pupillaris.* It will be seen that the *substitutio pupillaris* always implies the *substitutio uulgaris;* and in Cicero we read of instances where it was presumed from the former that the latter was intended.[1] In other words, it was presumed that where a father appoints his son heir, and then provides that some one else shall be *heres substitutus*, it is intended that the latter shall succeed at once if the child, upon his father's death, has not attained puberty. This was manifestly unjust, and in many cases quite contrary to the wishes of the deceased. Indeed, it is a proposition which does not appear to have been very frequently maintained. The converse of the proposition, however, is not only much fairer towards the children of the deceased, but it also in the majority of cases embodies the real intention of the testator. So Marcus Aurelius enacted that if a testator's will discloses a *substitutio uulgaris*, no mention being made in the will of the testator's son, and the testator dies leaving an *impubes* son, it will be presumed that the intention was to create a *substitutio pupillaris.*[2]

It is a universally acknowledged principle that no country can long continue prosperous where the various obligations that arise in trade and commerce cannot be strictly enforced by the authority of the law. Unless the government takes measures to insure the regular payment of loans and other forms of credit, capitalists prefer to let their money lie in idleness rather than to risk it upon investments from which they cannot be certain of obtaining a return. As a consequence, business becomes stagnant, and few extensive improvements are undertaken. Men confine themselves rather to petty enterprises, and the general welfare of the state must suffer. It was probably some such considerations as these

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[1] M. Tullius Cicero, *De inuent. rhet.*, lib. 2, c. 21 and 42; *De oratore*, lib. 1, c. 39 and 57, and lib. 2, c. 6 and 32; *Brutus*, c. 39 and 52; and *Pro Caecina*, c. 18 and 24.

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 28, tit. 6, c. 4: *Iam hoc iure utimur ex diui Marci et Veri constitutione, ut, cum pater impuberi filio in alterum casum substituisset, in utrum casum substituisse intellegatur, siue filius heres non exstiterit siue exstiterit et impubes decesserit.*

that induced Marcus Aurelius to enact that, if any person lent money to another for the purpose of restoring a building which had been destroyed, he should have a lien upon the new building when completed.[1] This privilege he further extended to the creditor who, upon the promise of the architect, furnished money directly to the builders as payment for their labor.[2] In the same way, in cases where a house owned by two or more persons in common had been destroyed, he encouraged them to rebuild it by declaring that if one of them would take upon himself the responsibility of reconstruction, he should be entitled to a return of his principal, with interest, from the other owners; and that, if they failed to pay him within four months after the edifice was erected, the entire property in the premises should vest in him.[3] One of the greatest hinderances to business enterprises of all kinds is a lack of mutual confidence between the parties. The capitalist or vendor is reluctant to furnish credit, for fear the contracting party may prove to be insolvent. This risk was perhaps greater under the Empire than it is with us, owing to a peculiar characteristic of the Roman system. It was the custom, in order that a man might preserve his reputation, for him, when aware of his probable insolvency, to come to an agreement with his creditors, by which they were to succeed to the inheritance of his estate. This *pactio* was sanctioned by law in all cases of insolvency where a majority of the creditors desired it. Antoninus Pius had declared that a minority of the creditors, even though the treasury and other privileged classes (of course, not including mortgagees) were among the number, were bound by the decision of the majority. To this

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[1] *Dig.*, lib. 42, tit. 5, c. 24, § 1: *Diuus Marcus ita edixit: "Creditor, qui ob restitutionem aedificiorum crediderit, in pecunia, quae credita erit, priuilegium exigendi habebit."*

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 20, tit. 2, c. 1: *Senatus consulto quod sub Marco imperatore factum est pignus insulae creditori datum, qui pecuniam ob restitutionem aedificii exstruendi mutuam dedit, ad eum quoque pertinebit, qui redemptori domino mandante nummos ministrauit.*

[3] *Dig.*, lib. 17, tit. 2, c. 52, § 10: *Oratio enim diui Marci idcirco quattuor mensibus finit certas usuras, quia post quattuor dominium dedit.*

system there could be no possible objection, were it not for the fact that the creditors, in their eagerness to secure themselves individually from all loss, often made private stipulations with the bankrupt, so that there was a great deal of difficulty in finding out what the desire of the majority really was; and moreover, the entire proceedings were of such a secret nature that innocent persons were often induced, after the *pactio* had been made, to lend the bankrupt sums of money, in ignorance of any such previous assignment of his property. It was desirable that the *pactio* should not be allowed unless agreed upon at a formal assembly of a majority of the creditors. Such was the provision made by a constitution of Marcus on the subject.[1] In order to induce his people to undertake new enterprises on a somewhat larger scale than heretofore, the Emperor encouraged in every way the formation of corporations. Their privileges, too, he extended in some respects. We have already considered the constitution by which he granted to corporations the power of manumitting slaves. In another rescript we read that he permitted them to be the recipients of legacies,[2] a right which had hitherto been withheld from them, because they were deemed incapable of going through the form of declaration necessary before an individual could become an heir. He also endeavored to concentrate the interest of members in their corporations by declaring that no man should be a member of more than one society; if he found himself already in two, he was to choose at once from which of them he preferred to withdraw, and his associates in that corporation should be bound to refund

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[1] *Dig.*, lib. 2, tit. 14, c. 10: *Rescriptum autem diui Marci sic loquitur, quasi omnes creditores debeant conuenire. . . . et repeto ante formam a diuo Marco datum diuum Pium rescripsisse fiscum quoque in his casibus, in quibus hypothecas non habet, et ceteros priuilegiarios exemplum creditorum sequi oportere.* See also *Dig.*, lib. 2, tit. 14, c. 23.

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 34, tit. 5, c. 20: *Cum senatus temporibus diui Marci permiserit collegiis legare, nulla dubitatio est, quod, si corpori cui licet coire legatum sit, debeatur: cui autem non licet si legetur, non ualebit, nisi singulis legetur: hi enim non quasi collegium, sed quasi certi homines admittentur ad legatum.*

to him his proportion of the total assets.[1] In the Roman Empire there were many ways in which the public treasury succeeded to the property of private individuals. By gift, by forfeiture, by failure of heirs, a large amount of property, both real and personal, passed into the imperial treasury. How to dispose advantageously of the articles that from time to time accumulated in the hands of the emperor was a problem of considerable importance. As a rule, they were offered to buyers at a public sale. But the people were somewhat chary of investing in articles offered in this way; for in many instances it turned out that the treasury had a bad title to the goods; and, on a valid claim being presented to the authorities, the one who had bought the goods was bound to surrender them to the claimant. This was a disadvantage which it was scarcely possible to prevent. What was needed was rather to lessen the vendee's risk by setting a limit to the time in which the original owner could put forth his claim. Such appeared to Marcus Aurelius the desired amendment to the system. Accordingly, he enacted that the vendee acquired a valid title to any property bought from the treasury, provided no prior right in the goods was proved within five years from the time of the sale.[2] Other measures for the protection of buyers, we are told, he introduced in the matter of money-changers and public auctioneers.[3]

In nothing is the activity of Marcus Aurelius more apparent than in the laws he passed to meet the special dangers with which his reign was threatened, viz., the famine and the plague. We have already had occasion to consider

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[1] *Dig.*, lib. 47, tit. 22, c. 1, § 2: *Non licet autem amplius quam unum collegium licitum habere, ut est constitutum et a diuis fratribus: et si quis in duobus fuerit, rescriptum est eligere eum oportere, in quo magis esse uelit, accepturum ex eo collegio, a quo recedit, id quod ei competit ex ratione, quae communis fuit.*

[2] Iustinian., *Inst.*, lib. 2, tit. 6, c. 14: *Edicto diui Marci cauetur, eum qui a fisco rem alienam emit, si post uenditionem quinquennium praeterierit, posse dominum rei per exceptionem repellere.* See also Iustinian., *Cod.*, lib. 2, tit. 36, c. 3; and Theophilus, *Inst.*, lib. 2, tit. 6, c. 14.

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.* c. 9: *Aliasque de mensariis et auctionibus tulit.*

some of the measures to which he was impelled by the overflow of the Tiber and the famine consequent thereon. Hereafter we shall have something to say of his efforts to mitigate the plague. At present it will be well to mention a few laws which he passed for similar purposes, but not with a view to meet any special emergency. In those times, when the science of agriculture was in its infancy, when the geographical area of the world was comparatively unknown, and when all merchant vessels depended solely upon the winds, the result of a poor harvest in any one part of the world was terrible in the extreme. The history of India, in our own times, furnishes a true picture of the suffering which in former days fell periodically upon the fairest portions of Southern Europe. A long season of drought, followed by a famine, left but one course open to a majority of the inhabitants—to starve. So horrible were these scourges that from the very earliest history of Rome we read of measures taken to mitigate the evil. Throughout the Roman Republic there was no more burning question than the people's cry for corn. The legislation on this subject passed through an infinite variety of phases; until in the time of Augustus it took a form which, with some few exceptions, it preserved until the downfall of the Empire. The system introduced by Augustus was briefly this: a *praefectus annonae* was appointed, in whose hands was placed the duty of obtaining regular supplies of corn from the distant provinces. These supplies were kept, until called for, in the store-houses erected in different parts of Italy. The number of persons entitled to make use of the public granaries was limited, according to the system of Augustus, to 200,000, those being preferred who could establish the best title to Roman citizenship. The price which these persons had to pay was small, often falling very much below the market value. In some emergencies, indeed, the distributions were gratuitous, this being regularly the case with those citizens who were in abject poverty. The charitable work thus instituted was of the utmost benefit, not only to the poor recipients, but also to the citizens at large. To this system there seem to have been only two objections; and these were

not insuperable. In the first place, it furnished an opportunity for a great deal of unfair dealing on the part of the officials; and, secondly, it tended to the discouragement of agriculture in Italy. The first of these two evils showed itself in many ways; but the danger most frequently experienced was lest the authorities in the towns or provinces should attempt to bring about an advance of prices by buying up all the corn there was in the market. Thus the officials more than once succeeded in securing to themselves the profits which would otherwise have been realized by private dealers. In this way it would have been possible to thwart the entire scheme, the profits of the trade being now monopolized by the provinces and towns. To obviate this difficulty Marcus Aurelius declared it illegal for the provincial senate to offer grain of an inferior quality to that furnished by the *praefectus annonae* in Italy; and he also deprived the different towns of the right to regulate the price.[1] As regards the second objection to the system of Augustus, viz., that it tended to discourage Italian agriculture, there is little to be said. So long as the government undertook to supply the people with corn obtained in large quantities from the provinces, and sold at a great reduction, it was inevitable that the Italian farmers, who had hitherto commanded high prices for their produce, should suffer a diminution in their profits. They were unable, of course, to compete for a moment with the government, which sold the corn at the lowest figure possible without suffering a loss. But they could still compete with the farmers in the provinces, from whom the government obtained its supplies; and over them they possessed this obvious advantage, that whoever bought in Italy was saved the entire expense of transportation; hence the Italian farmers could command a price considerably in advance of that obtained by the farmers in the provinces. Many of them, however, who had

[1] *Dig.*, lib. 48, tit. 12, c. 3: *Imperatores Antoninus et Verus Augusti in haec uerba rescripserunt: "Minime aequum est decuriones ciuibus suis frumentum uilius quam annona exigit uendere." Item scripserunt ius non esse ordini cuiusque ciuitatis pretium grani quod inuenitur statuere.*

become accustomed to much greater profits, preferred to live in idleness rather than to take the trouble of farming at a profit less than that which they had hitherto received; and, consequently, a large part of the Peninsula was allowed to lie uncultivated. Marcus Aurelius saw that this result was very harmful to Italy; and he therefore took measures to encourage, as far as possible, Italian agriculture. Among other things he enacted that a litigant might not compel his adversary to appear in court during the harvest months, since this would be injurious to the occupations of the field. If the prætor summoned him and he did not come till the harvest was over, he was nevertheless protected; but if he did come, he had to abide by the decision rendered, even though he was not bound in the first place to obey the summons. In cases, however, where the circumstances required his immediate presence, the prætor might insist upon his appearing in the midst of the harvest season.[1] Further, in order to protect the crops as far as possible from the droughts with which Italy was visited, the Emperor introduced a measure regulating the use of water from the streams. By this regulation, the farmers living along the banks of streams were entitled to the use of the water for purposes of irrigation in proportion to the area of their land. If any one wished to claim a larger share, he was bound to prove some valid title thereto.[2] It remains to consider but one other enactment on the general subject of supplies. It was a custom not unusual in the Roman Empire, where extravagance was carried to an extent almost unprecedented, for parents to provide for the future support of their children by leaving them alimentary legacies in their wills. Even when this precaution was taken, however, a spendthrift son sometimes succeeded in frustrating his father's intention.

[1] *Dig.*, lib. 2, tit. 12, c. 1: *Ne quis messium uindemiarumque tempore aduersarium cogat ad iudicium uenire, oratione diui Marci exprimitur, quia occupati circa rem rusticam in forum compellendi non sunt. Sed si praetor, etc.*

[2] *Dig.*, lib. 8, tit. 3, c. 17: *Imperatores Antoninus et Verus Augusti rescripserunt aquam de flumine publico pro modo possessionum ad irrigandos agros diuidi oportere, nisi proprio iure quis plus sibi datum ostenderit.*

Being in want of ready money, he sought out some person with capital to invest, and bartered his future welfare for a present dissipation. To arrangements of this kind Marcus put an end.[1]

We come now to those measures introduced by Marcus Aurelius for the general advancement of the state. In considering them, we should bear in mind that the difficulties which he had to meet were, in the main, the same as those by which Hadrian and Antoninus Pius had been beset. Indeed, two of their troubles, dearth of population and insurrection among the imperial legates, fell upon Marcus Aurelius with greater force than upon either of his predecessors. This we shall see hereafter. At present we shall confine ourselves to Marcus's treatment of the three questions, how to keep the provinces contented, how to provide the necessary resources, and how to preserve the imperial dignity and power. The harmonizing of these three problems was very difficult to accomplish; but it was a task to which the Emperor applied himself with the utmost diligence during his brother's absence in the East; and it may be safely said that his efforts were crowned with a success such as few emperors before him had attained. The methods which he employed in order to render the various parts of the provinces contented were somewhat novel. The financial condition of the state was such that he could not exempt them from the taxes imposed upon them by previous emperors, nor could he get along without the customary enlistment of soldiers from the provinces. He trusted rather to the arts of persuasion; and endeavored, by making the provinces feel their own importance, to inspire them with an enthusiasm for the central government. To improve the condition of the colonies seemed to him the first aim of one who had at heart the welfare of

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[1] *Dig.*, lib. 2, tit. 15, c. 8: *Cum hi, quibus alimenta relicti erant, facile transigerent contenti modico praesenti: diuus Marcus oratione in senatu recitata effecit, ne aliter alimentorum transactio rata esset, quam si auctore praetore facta. solet igitur praetor interuenire et inter consentientes arbitrari, an transactio uel quae admitti debeat.*

Rome itself. Consequently, all his measures introduced for the purpose of satisfying the provinces were really directed towards the accomplishment of those changes which would render the provinces better satisfied with themselves. As an instance of the way in which the Emperor applied this policy, it may be well to cite here a constitution providing that every man chosen member of a colonial senate was bound to accept the duties to which he was elected; but that if he were unable, through poverty, to support the dignity of the office, he might on that account be excused.[1] In this way the influence and dignity of the colonies were advanced, and their growth in self-respect was accompanied by a corresponding feeling of loyalty to the Empire.

When we consider the extended calamities that fell upon the Empire during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and when we attempt to calculate the vast expenses which must have been incurred by the treasury on that account, we are fairly lost in wonder at the ease with which the necessary revenue was raised. I suspect, however, that if we were more accurately informed of the Emperor's secret thoughts and schemes with reference to this subject, we should find it was not without far-reaching plans and exceedingly minute calculations that he was enabled to meet the obligations which were continually arising in all parts of the Empire. That we hear so little of the straitened condition of the finances in his time is due especially, no doubt, to two peculiarities of Marcus's system: in the first place, he deemed it wise to preserve as far as possible the public confidence in the government dur-

[1] *Dig.*, lib. 50, tit. 4, c. 6: *Rescripto diuorum fratrum ad Rutilium Lupum ita declaratur:* "*Constitutio, qua cautum est, prout quisque decurio creatus est, ut ita et magistratum apiscatur, totiens seruari debet, quotiens idoneos et sufficientes omnes contingit. ceterum si ita quidem tenues et exhausti sunt, ut non modo publicis honoribus pares non sint, sed et uix de suo uictum sustinere possint: et minus utile et nequaquam honestum est talibus mandari magistratum, praesertim cum sint qui conuenienter ei et suae fortunae et splendori publico possint creari. Sciant igitur locupletiores non debere se hoc praetextu legis uti et de tempore, quo quisque in curiam allectus sit, inter eos demum esse quaerendum, qui pro substantia sua capiant honoris dignitatem.*"

ing these periods of misfortune; and, secondly, he refused to call upon the people in their calamity for extra subsidies. In short, he succeeded in gaining the end for which most legislators strive in vain—an increase in the revenue without any augmentation of the taxes. This result he brought about by practising a rigid economy in all departments of the state; and there never was a state in which economy was more needed than in the Roman Empire. The proverbial extravagance of the Roman people is displayed most clearly in their love of the theatre and the circus. The favorite amusements to which these places were devoted during the times of Marcus Aurelius were pantomimes and chariot races and gladiatorial combats. The pantomime was the form of drama which appealed most forcibly to the Roman taste. It was imported from the East during the reign of Augustus, and at once became a popular means of recreation. The performers, however, in this kind of representation, as, indeed, in all other theatrical exhibitions, were chiefly Greeks. The Romans had from their earliest history looked upon the actor's profession as more or less degrading; and they could never fully make up their minds to enter it themselves. But they contributed with lavish hands to the support of the Greek actors who came to Rome. The number of theatres which we hear of in the city is astounding. One of them, that of Pompey, was said to seat 40,000 persons. The chariot-races, better adapted than scenic amusements to the stern character of the Romans, maintained their popularity till long after the reign of Marcus. In these entertainments the excitement was never allowed to flag. If the contestants proved an unequal match, the lack of interest in the race was compensated by the angry shouts of the defeated factions. To what a pitch the fury of these factions sometimes rose will be manifest when we recall the riot in the circus at Constantinople in 532, which resulted in the death of 30,000 citizens. There was one recreation which delighted the Roman people far beyond all others—the gladiatorial combats. The Roman custom of matching armed men against each other for the amusement of spectators had its origin in B.C. 264,

when Marcus and Decimus Brutus celebrated the obsequies of their father. As time went on, this amusement came to be regarded as appropriate to every occasion of rejoicing, and was, moreover, commended as a means of promoting courage and skill in self-defence. The combatants were originally condemned criminals, but, as criminals were not numerous enough to appease the general appetite for the sport, it became customary for victorious emperors to bring their captives back to Rome, that the desires of their people might be satisfied. When prisoners of war were wanting, refractory slaves were substituted for them; and, as many wealthy slave-owners found thus a means of gratifying their vanity or ambition, the arena was seldom empty for lack of combatants. Indeed, the difficulty was rather that the arena was itself too small—an evil remedied by Vespasian and Titus, who erected the Colosseum, with a capacity to seat 100,000 persons. It was here that the Emperor Trajan, on his return from the last Dacian war, entertained the people with sports in which 10,000 gladiators combatted against each other. These amusements came to be such a regular institution at Rome that if an emperor refused to gratify the whims of the people in this matter, his folly was rewarded by an open rebellion. Even the best and most moral writers of the times seem to have had but a slight appreciation of the crimes every day committed about them. The licentiousness of the theatre, the dangers of the circus, and the barbarity of the amphitheatre they palliate rather than decry. We cannot fail to be disappointed at the small amount of good which Marcus Aurelius accomplished in this direction; and yet he did more than almost any other emperor until the time of Constantine. As we have already seen, he passed a law prohibiting masters from selling their slaves that they might be employed in fighting with wild beasts. He also took many other measures, not so much, it is true, for the purpose of abolishing all combats in the arena, as with a view to diminish the number and cruelty of the gladiatorial sports. Capitolinus records of him that "he moderated the gladiatorial shows in every way; he also reduced the imperial donations in support of scenic

entertainments, by fixing the actor's pay at five *aurei*, and by providing that the manager of the performance should receive no more than ten *aurei* at the highest."[1] Again, it is said that he restricted the theatrical performances in such a way that they might not interfere with trade.[2] In Dion Cassius we are told that he had the gladiators fight with buttons on their swords; and such was his horror of bloodshed that on one occasion, when a trained lion who had already caused the death of many men was brought in, he turned his face away in disgust; afterwards, the people begging that the owner of the lion might receive his liberty, the Emperor refused to grant their request, saying the man had done no act to entitle him to freedom.[3] On another occasion he enlisted the gladiators in his army, and took them off to defend the Empire against the barbarians—an act which caused the people to complain that he was trying to make them all philosophers.[4] The displeasure with which he looked upon all these kinds of amusement is brought out clearly by Gallicanus, who says that the only class of people by whom Marcus was not loved was the voluptuaries.[5] It was in such ways as these that the Emperor endeavored to keep the treasury in a solid condition, while at the same time he was improving the morals

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 11: *Gladiatoria spectacula omnifariam temperauit. temperauit etiam scaenicas donationes, iubens ut quinos aureos scaenici acciperent, ita tamen ut nullus editor decem aureos egrederetur.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 23: *Iusserat enim ne mercimonia impediruntur tardius pantomimos exhibere non uotis diebus.*

[3] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 29: Μάρκος γε μὴν οὕτω τι φόνοις οὐκ ἔχαιρεν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς μονομάχους ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὥσπερ ἀθλητὰς ἀκινδύνως ἐώρα μαχομένους· σιδήριον γὰρ οὐδέποτε οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ὀξὺ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀμβλέσιν, ὥσπερ ἐσφαιρωμένοις, πάντες ἐμάχοντο. καὶ οὕτω γε πόρρω παντὸς φόνου καθειστήκει, ὥστε καὶ λέοντά τινα δεδιδαγμένον ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν, ἐκέλευσε μὲν ἐσαχθῆναι αἰτησαμένου τοῦ δήμου, οὔτε δὲ ἐκεῖνον εἶδεν, οὔτε τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ ἠλευθέρωσε, καίπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγκειμένων οἱ. ἀλλὰ καὶ κηρυχθῆναι προσέταξεν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐλευθερίας πεποίηκεν.

[4] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 23: *Fuit enim populo hic sermo cum sustulisset ad bellum gladiatores, quod populum sublatis uoluptatibus uellet cogere ad philosophiam.*

[5] Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 7: *Absente Antonino, qui nisi a uoluptariis unice amabatur.*

of his people. Nor is it only in matters of amusement that his measures of economy can be traced. In the general expenses of the government he was very careful.[1] He made few donations with the public money; although, when the necessities of the case demanded it, he was never behindhand in rewarding good men or in relieving unfortunate cities.[2] One way in which he enriched the treasury to a considerable extetn was by abolishing the *quadruplatores;* so that all their profits were now turned directly towards paying the expenses of the state.[3] In collecting the taxes, too, he used such prudence that only a small proportion of the receipts was wasted. He did not, it is true, get rid of the pernicious system of letting the taxes out to officers to farm; but, by enacting that those who farmed them in the colonies should be exempted from all the expensive *munera* which had been customarily connected with their office, he secured to the government much more complete and certain returns.[4] Another class of losses to which previous emperors had frequently been subjected he did away with by enacting that the land-tax should not follow the persons of the owners, but should be attached strictly to the land itself; so that, if a land-owner sold his property and withdrew, leaving the taxes still unpaid, the purchaser of the estate was held to have taken it along with all of its encumbrances.[5] As a final source of revenue, Marcus relied on the granting of civil rights. Victor tells us that he

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[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 11: *Cauit et sumptibus publicis.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 23: *Ipse in largitionibus pecuniae publicae parcissimus fuit. quod laudi potius datur quam reprehensioni. sed tamen et bonis uiris pecunias dedit et oppidis labentibus auxilium tulit et tributa uel uectigalia ubi necessitas cogebat remisit.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 11: *Calumniis quadruplatorum intercessit adposita falsis delatoribus nota.*

[4] *Dig.*, lib. 50, tit. 6, c. 6, § 10: *Conductores etiam uectigalium fisci necessitate subeundorum municipalium munerum non obstringuntur: idque ita obseruandum diui fratres rescripserunt.*

[5] *Dig.*, lib. 39, tit. 4, c. 7: *Imperatores Antoninus et Verus rescripserunt in uectigalibus ipsa praedia, non personas conueniri et ideo possessores etiam praeteriti temporis uectigal soluere debere.*

granted the *ciuitas* to every one who asked for it.[1] Although this policy was probably adopted from democratic motives and a desire to identify the Empire with the Roman people, there can be no doubt that the fees paid for the privilege brought a very handsome sum into the treasury. In these various ways Marcus Aurelius succeeded in meeting the financial difficulties of his times without creating dissatisfaction in the provinces.

The greatest advantage in a monarchical form of government is that it exhibits a strong central figure, around which may cluster all the hopes and confidence of the people. A diminution in the ruler's power is generally attended by a decrease in the subject's loyalty. It was, therefore, all-important in the Roman Empire that the imperial dignity should be preserved intact. In order to attain this end some of Marcus's predecessors had kept up magnificent displays of wealth, and had lavished enormous sums upon the eager multitude. The method of Marcus Aurelius was very different. His policy was rather to govern wisely and economically. He believed that if he could teach his people, by experience, that he was desirous and able to promote their interests as a nation, respect and loyalty were sure to follow. There was no pomp, no haughtiness, in his dealings with the people. To the wishes of the senate he always showed marked deference.[2] We have already seen how willingly, in the administration of justice, he referred matters to the senate whenever he had reason to believe that his own mind was prejudiced in any way. He displayed the same respect for its opinion in matters of legislation. On all possible occasions he was present at its meetings, even though he had nothing in particular to propose; and he frequently remained till late at night, never leaving his seat till the consul had dismissed the house with the formal words: "*Nihil uos moramur patres conscripti.*"[3]

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[1] Victor, *De Caes.*, c. 16, § 11: *Data cunctis promiscue ciuitas Romana.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 10: *Neque quisquam principum amplius senatui detulit.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 10: *Semper autem cum potuit interfuit senatui, etiamsi nihil esset referendum, si Romae fuit, si uero aliquid referre uoluit*

Many of the *curatores regionum*, too, he chose from among the senate;[1] and at the same time he increased the influence of those positions by empowering the *curatores regionum ac uiarum* to punish, or bring before the city for punishment, all those who were found exacting more than the legal taxes.[2] When his daughters became old enough to marry, he found them husbands among the most illustrious of the senators. He did not, however, choose those that could boast of a long line of ancestors, nor those who were conspicuous for great wealth. He preferred rather men who were of sterling qualities and temperate in their course of life; "for these," he said, "are the only things a man can call his own, these alone are indestructible."[3] The purpose which the Emperor had in thus increasing the influence of the senate may have been to counterbalance the privileges which he had already granted to the provinces. Indeed, from a law of his, contained in the *Digest*, it would seem that he once found it necessary to check a colony which was usurping powers that belonged of right to the government at Rome.[4] But, as the senators were by this time chosen pretty generally from all parts of the Empire, it could scarcely have been with a view to restraining the power of the provinces that he increased the influence of the senate. I am inclined to think that his idea in restoring, to some extent, the senate's ancient glory was rather to diminish the danger of unlimited sovereignty in future monarchs.

During these five years of legislative activity the Emperor

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etiam de Campania ipse uenit. comitiis praeterea etiam usque ad noctem frequenter interfuit. neque umquam recessit de curia nisi consul dixisset "nihil uos moramur patres conscripti."

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 11: *Curatores multis ciuitatibus quo latius senatorias tenderet dignitates a senatu dedit.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 11: *Dedit praeterea curatoribus regionum ac uiarum potestatem ut uel punirent uel ad praefectum urbi puniendos remitterent eos qui ultra uectigalia quicquam ab aliquo exegissent.*

[3] Herodian., *Hist.*, lib. 1, c. 2: Ταῦτα γὰρ μόνα ψυχῆς ἴδια καὶ ἀναφαίρετα ἡγεῖτο κτήματα.

[4] *Dig.*, lib. 50, tit. 10, c. 6: *De operibus, quae in muris uel portis uel rebus publicis fiunt, aut si muri exstruantur, diuus Marcus rescripsit praesidem aditum consulere principem debere.*

was not regardless of the philosophic principles which he had imbibed from his old master Rusticus in his younger days. With the lapse of years his love of speculative pursuits grew more intense; and, though he found less opportunity now than heretofore to gratify this taste, he still displayed enough enthusiasm for his early passion to secure for himself the appellation of *Marcus Aurelius Philosophus*. We are told by Capitolinus that his zeal for philosophical pursuits was such that even after he was summoned to the dignity of emperor he frequented the house of Apollonius for the purpose of acquiring knowledge.[1] The philosopher Sextus, too, was often honored by his presence. One day, as Marcus was on his way to the lecture-room of this scholar, he was accosted by a celebrated orator named Lucius, who suggested that the Emperor was conferring a great honor upon Sextus. Marcus rebuked him, however, with the words, "A man, though well on in years, is not too old to learn. I frequent the house of Sextus for the purpose of obtaining knowledge."[2] It was not only in private life that he honored the eminent philosophers of his time. They were also promoted to the highest positions in the state. Junius Rusticus, in whom, as we have already seen, Marcus placed a special confidence, was engaged almost continuously in the public service. In 162, the year after Marcus ascended the throne, he seized on Rusticus, in the midst of his literary operations, and made him consul.[3] The stern old philosopher, who had at first hardly reciprocated the affection of the impetuous youth, could not fail to thank his Emperor for this new honor. His gratitude soon gave place to a genuine affection, as is witnessed by one of Fronto's

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[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 3: *Tantum autem studium in eo philosophiae fuit, ut adscitus iam in imperatoriam tamen ad domum Apollonii discendi causa ueniret.*

[2] Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.*, lib. 2, c. 1, § 9.

[3] Themistius, *Orat.*, 17 [pp. 261–2 of Dindorf's ed.]: *Ἀπολανέτο τοίννν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνος τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ καιρῶν ἐπανιόντων, τῶν Ἀδριανοῦ, τῶν Μάρκου, τῶν Ἀντωνίνου, οἳ τὸν Ἀρειανὸν καὶ τὸν Ῥούστικον ἐξαναστήσαντες ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων μεριστὰς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ συνεργοὺς τῆς τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτροπείας.* See also Themist., *Orat.*, 34, c. 8.

letters, written in 162.[1] On the termination of his consulship the Emperor did not allow him to retire into private life, but called him to the responsible office of *praefectus urbis*. This position he held for several years; and during the entire period of his administration he never lost the confidence of his sovereign.[2] The same respect with which Marcus treated Junius Rusticus was exhibited, though in a less degree, to all eminent philosophers. In promoting them from one position to another the Emperor was fond of quoting the well-known saying of Plato, that either all kings should be philosophers, or else philosophers should become the kings.[3] In his zeal, however, to reward those who were interested in his favorite pursuit, he did not allow himself to be deceived by false pretences. We are expressly told that he was very hostile to all such as, under the show of philosophy, were injurious to the welfare of the community and to the character of individuals.[4] Moreover, it must be remembered that, however great his esteem for philosophers, it was by no means from this class alone that his associates were chosen. Among members of the legal profession were some of his warmest friends. For example, L. Volusius Mæcianus, who had been one of Marcus's instructors in the law,[5] continued to act as his adviser in later years;[6] and the intimacy of their relations is shown by the affectionate way in which Marcus always mentions him

[1] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Ant. Imp.*, lib. 1, epist. 2.

[2] At exactly what time Rusticus withdrew from his official duties we cannot be sure. But, as we have numerous references to him, it may be presumed that his prefecture was of a considerable duration. See an inscription found at Maintz and published by Orelli, *no.* 4345; also a rescript in the *Digest*, lib. 49, tit. 1, c. 1, § 3, addressed by Marcus Aurelius and Verus "*ad Iunium Rusticum amicum nostrum praefectum urbis.*"

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 27: *Sententia Platonis semper in ore illius fuit florere ciuitates, si aut philosophi imperarent aut imperantes philosopharentur.*

[4] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 23: *Fama fuit sane quod sub philosophorum specie quidam rem publicam uexarent et priuatos. quod ille purgauit.*

[5] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 3: *Studuit et iuri audiens L. Volusium Maecianum.*

[6] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 4, epist. 2: *Maecianus urgebat.*

in the *Digest*.[1] Many other lawyers he kept continually about him for consultation.[2] The one from whom he derived, perhaps, the greatest benefit was the eminent Scævola.[3] Nor were these lawyers honored for their legal abilities alone. Several of them held important political offices under Marcus. Claudius Saturninus, for example, was at one time prætor.[4] Indeed, it is one of the greatest beauties in Marcus's character that, in spite of his intense liking for certain men and studies, he was yet capable of appreciating the good in almost everything. It is true, he never overcame the dislike for rhetoric which he had acquired in early life. But this aversion was directed rather to the particular phase of the subject presented to him by Fronto than to the true theory of the study. What he objected to was the deception practised by most rhetoricians in concealing, by a profusion of words, the paucity of their ideas. There can be no doubt that he approved heartily the desire to express one's thoughts easily and clearly. Throughout his correspondence we cannot fail to see that he himself made an effort to do this; and Philostratus witnesses the same thing when he says that Marcus excelled all other emperors as a letter-writer.[5]

The general tenor of his private life, after being summoned to the throne, differs little from that which he had led in the society of Antoninus. He kept up the habit, which he had learned from his father, of spending the vintage seasons in the country; and on all other occasions, when it was possible, he

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[1] *Dig.*, lib. 37, tit. 14, c. 17: *Diui fratres in haec uerba rescripserunt:* "... *Volusius Mucianus amicus noster ut et iuris ciuilis praeter ueterem et bene fundatam peritiam anxie diligens, etc.*"

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 11: *Habuit secum praefectos quorum ex autoritate et periculo semper iura dictauit.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 11: *Usus autem est Scaeuola praecipue iuris perito.* See also *Dig.*, lib. 18, tit. 7, c. 10; lib. 36, tit. 1, c. 23; and lib. 50, tit. 1, c. 24.

[4] *Dig.*, lib. 17, tit. 1, c. 6, § 7: *Hic a Claudio Saturnino praetore, etc.*

[5] Philostratus, *Dialexis*, c. 1: Τὸν ἐπιστολικὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ λόγου μετὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἀριστά μοι δοκοῦσι διεσκέφθαι . . . βασιλέων δὲ ὁ θεσπέσιος Μάρκος ἐν οἷς ἐπέστελλεν αὐτός.

withdrew from the activities of Rome. As we have already seen, three of the four daughters which had been born to him were still living at the time of Antoninus's death. These were Annia Lucilla, Fadilla, and Cornificia. But he was without a son.[1] In this misfortune he was doubtless often cheered by the consolations of philosophy. We can scarcely help believing, however, that in his weaker moments he was overcome with a feeling of depression on realizing that at his death he was to leave no male offspring to perpetuate his name. At times like these we can picture him retiring to the solitude of his chamber, where he loved to meditate, and reasoning with himself upon the vanity of all earthly ambition. The petty discontent which had sprung up is soon overcome. He returns once more to his present duties with a cheerful face; and as he goes about his work he meditates thus: "If the gods have determined about me and about the things which must happen to me, they have determined well, for it is not easy even to imagine a deity without forethought; and as to doing me harm, why should they have any desire towards that? for what advantage would result to them from this?"[2] The gods in whom he trusted did not refuse, in their good time, to reward him for his virtue. On the 31st of August, 161, Faustina gave birth to twins, both of them boys.[3] The names which he selected for them were Commodus and Antoninus; and we have a letter from Fronto, written in 163, at Lorium, in which he says he has seen Marcus's little boys, and compliments them on their striking resemblance to their father.[4] One of the little fellows, Antoninus, died four years

[1] The two little boys born some years before were, as we have already seen, dead before this time. And no others had been born; for, if so, we should find some record of them; and besides, in Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Ant. Imp.*, lib. 2, epist. 1, where Marcus sends love to Fronto from the whole family, the daughters are mentioned, but no boys: *Dominus meus frater et filiae cum sua matre.*

[2] *Thoughts*, lib. 6, c. 44.

[3] Lampridius, *Commod. Ant.*, c. 1: *Ipse autem natus est apud Lanuuium cum fratre Antonino gemino pridei kal. Sept. patre patruoque consulibus.*

[4] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Ant. Imp.*, lib. 1, epist. 3.

later;[1] but Commodus lived to succeed his father on the throne. This alternation of joys and griefs only served to render still more sweet the gentle spirit of the Emperor. Yet his sorrow at the death of Antoninus was never entirely assuaged. At times he was unable to restrain his thoughts from dwelling on the bright scenes of his childhood; and in such moments he clung to Fronto, the adviser of his early years, with increased affection. By renewing his old relations with his master he strove to bring back the happy memories of his youth. Not long after his accession he wrote Fronto a letter, in which he reflects with sadness on the fact that all his friends are one by one departing. His old master consoles him with the words: "And yet I have observed with what vigor those you love are growing up about you. Have you not noticed with what attention, with how marked favor, and with what extreme pleasure, the Roman senate and the people listen to your words. Ah! I do not hesitate to say that the more they hear yet the better they will love you, so powerful and so attractive is the charm of your talent, your expression, your eloquence, and your voice."[2] Such a letter was consoling. Even the Emperor was human; and he could not help being gratified at old Fronto's compliments, especially as he had to own that what Fronto said was true. Fronto continued to enjoy the affection of his ruler. The cause of their life-long friendship it would be difficult, if not impossible, to determine. It was one of those curious things which no one would expect, but which no one feels, after all, to be unnatural. Fronto once raised the question why Marcus loved him so dearly. He could find no cause for it, and confesses, "I would rather have you love me by your own inspiration, or by chance, than from rational motives, or on account of any merit in me."[3] Whatever the reason, there can be no doubt that it was a genuine affection that Marcus bore to him. Whenever Fronto was in any affliction, physical or

[1] Lamprid., *Commod. Ant.*, c. 1: *Cum autem peperisset Commodum atque Antoninum, Antoninus quadrimus elatus est.*

Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Ant. Imp.*, lib. 1, epist. 2, written in 162.

[3] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes.*, lib. 1, epist. 3, written in 145.

mental, the Emperor was always the first to comfort and encourage him. In 165, Marcus, hearing of the death of Fronto's grandson, writes to him: "I have just heard of your loss. Since every bodily affliction of yours is torture to me, you can imagine, my dear master, how deep grief I feel on hearing of this affliction of your soul. In my despondency I can utter but a single prayer—that you, my sweetest master, may be preserved to me, you, in whom I feel a greater solace than you can experience grief at the death of any one."[1] The same solicitude for the troubles of others displays itself in all his dealings with his subjects. He had an abhorrence of everything artificial in a ruler. "Take care," he meditates, "that thou art not made into a Cæsar, that thou art not dyed with this dye; for such things happen. Keep thyself, then, simple, good, pure, serious, free from affectation, a friend of justice, a worshipper of the gods, kind, affectionate, strenuous in all proper acts. Strive to continue to be such as philosophy wished to make thee. Reverence the gods, and help men. Short is life. There is only one fruit of this earthly life—a pious disposition and social acts."[2] This devotion to philosophy bore good fruit. As Capitolinus puts it, "Marcus gave himself up entirely to philosophy, and strove to gain the affections of his people."[3] A similar testimony we have from Herodian, who says that "Marcus was most zealous in the pursuit of virtue, and an ardent admirer of the ancient writers, both Greek and Roman. To his subjects he was a kind and temperate ruler, and always received those who approached him on any matter. He was the only king that ever proved himself a servant to philosophy, not in words and doctrine, but by a reverent attitude and a sober life. The age in which he lived produced a great many men of wisdom; for the subject always likes to live in accordance with the manners of his king."[4]

While Marcus Aurelius was thus engaged in purifying the morals of his people, events of vast importance were occur-

[1] Fronto, *Epist. de nepote amisso*, epist. 1, written in 165.

[2] *Thoughts*, lib. 6, c. 11.

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 8: *Dabat se Marcus totum et philosophiae amorem ciuium adfectans.*

[4] Herodian., *Hist.*, lib. 1, c. 2.

ring in the East. Lucius Verus, from whom we parted as he was on his journey to the seat of war, arrived at Antioch without further hinderance. When he reached that city, which had been raised a few years before by Antoninus Pius to the dignity of a Roman colony, the information he received was far from pleasing. So rapid had been the advance of Vologeses that the governor of Syria, who resided at Antioch, had already deemed it prudent to withdraw. The whole province was panic-stricken.[1] The fragments of the Roman army which had been stationed in Syria had become unskilled in war during the long interval of peace they had enjoyed, and were utterly demoralized under the enervating influence of a southern atmosphere. One of their leaders had been already slain, together with his legion; and the others seem to have been powerless against the advancing enemy. A strong hand was needed to unite the scattered forces, and inspire the terror-stricken soldiers with confidence. This was the work marked out for Lucius Verus; and, if the issue of the war may be taken as a result of his own efforts, it was a work which he accomplished well. According to Dion Cassius, he levied at Antioch as many soldiers as possible, and placed them in the command of Cassius.[2] His choice of a leader was certainly excellent. Avidius Cassius, though in his heart he hated the very name of emperor,[3] was a man pre-eminently fitted by nature for military duties.[4] What was needed above all else was a general who could rouse the

[1] Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, lib. 12, c. 2: Τοῦ Οὐολογαίσου πολλοὺς Ῥωμαίων κατατοξεύσαντος καὶ ὅλον τὸ στρατόπεδον διαφθείραντος καὶ πολέμιον Ῥωμαίοις ἑαυτὸν ἀποφήναντος καὶ φοβερὸν ἐπιόντα τῆς Συρίας ταῖς πόλεσιν; and Orosius, *Hist. aduers. Pagan.*, lib. 7, c. 15, § 2: *Vologesus enim, rex Parthorum, grauì eruptione Armeniam Cappadociam Syriamque uastabat.*

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 2: Ὁ οὖν Λούκιος, ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ πλείστους στρατιώτας συλλέξας, καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἔχων, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῇ πολει ἐκάθητο, διατάττων ἕκαστα, καὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χορηγίας ἀθροίζων· Κασσίῳ δὲ τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπέτρεψεν.

[3] Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 1: *Oderat tacite principatum nec ferre poterat imperatorium nomen.*

[4] Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 3: *Fuit praeterea disciplinae militaris Auidius Cassius tenax et qui se Marium dici uellet.*

scattered soldiers from their lethargy, and make them feel the necessity of a return to their former discipline. The measures which Cassius took were characterized by determination; and, indeed, almost by cruelty.[1] He banished every sort of luxury from the camp; and threatened, in case the soldiers did not abandon their effeminate habits, that he would compel them to pass the winter under tents.[2] Every seventh day the entire army joined in a contest of arrows and of javelins.[3] While they were thus engaged the officers carried on a thorough inspection of their equipments.[4] In this way vast improvements were made in the condition of the soldiers, and in a very short time they were sufficiently well trained to begin the campaign against the enemy. One of the prefects describes the change in terms of the highest praise. "You have acted wisely, my sovereign," he writes to the Emperor, "in placing the Syrian legions in charge of Cassius. For the Greek soldiers need nothing so much as a man of severity. He has abolished all warm baths, and all ornaments for the head and shoulders. The provisions for the army are obtained without difficulty; for, under a good commander, there is little necessity either to beg or buy."[5] Marcus's reply is: "I gave Avidius Cassius the Syrian legions, dissolved in luxury and leading a life of ease. For Cæsonius Vectilianus has written me that he found them 'all reeking with perspiration from the baths.' I believe I have acted well. You are aware that Cassius is noted for his severity and military discipline; and soldiers can be governed only by discipline like that for which our ancestors were celebrated. You recollect the well-known saying of the poet,

'*Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque.*'

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[1] Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 4: *Multa extant crudelitatis potius quam seueritatis eius indicia.*

[2] Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 6: *Delicias omnes de castris summouit iussitque eos hiemem sub pellibus agere, nisi corrigerent suos mores.*

[3] Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 6: *Exercitium septimi diei fuit omnium militum, ita ut et sagittas mitterent et armis luderent.*

[4] Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 6: *Arma militum septima die semper inspexit, uestimenta etiam et calciamenta et ocreas.* [5] Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 5.

I desire you to furnish provisions in abundance. As for the legions, they will not perish, unless I am greatly mistaken in Avidius Cassius."[1] The other generals that figure conspicuously in this war are Martius Verus and Statius Priscus, the latter of whom, as we have already seen, the Emperor had recently recalled from Britain.[2] Whether or not these two were made subordinate to Cassius, we are not told; but since Lucius Verus was in command of all of them, it is probable that his three generals held the same rank. The forces intrusted to them at first consisted chiefly of the remnants of the legions regularly stationed in Syria, the vacant places being filled up by levies throughout the province. Soon, however, reinforcements were despatched from other portions of the Empire; and before the war was ended it seems that there were eight of the Roman legions in the field. These legions were, apparently, the 1st, called *Mineruia;*[3] the 2d, called *Gallica;* the 3d, called *Cyrenaica;*[4] the 4th, called *Scythica;*[5] the 6th, called *Ferrata;*[6] the 10th, called *Fretensis;* the 15th, called *Apollinaris;* and the 16th, called *Flauia Firma.*[7] Assuming

[1] Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 5.

[2] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 7: *Duces autem confecerunt Parthicum bellum, Statius Priscus et Auidius Cassius et Marcius Verus.* It seems that the true name of Marcius Verus is not Marcius, but Martius. See Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 3, pp. 396 and 403–4, v. 4, p. 164, and v. 5, pp. 258 and 352.

[3] See the inscription in Henzen, *no.* 5478.

[4] See De Bertou's article in Rome. Istit. di corrisp. archeol. *Bull. dell' inst. per l'anno* 1837. Roma, 1837, p. 170; and Berlin. Akad. der Wiss. *Corp. insc. Graec.*, *nos.* 4554 and 4651.

[5] Dion Cassius, lib. 55, c. 23; and Berlin. Akad. der Wiss. *Corp. insc. Graec.*, *nos.* 4033–4.

[6] This legion had taken part in the Parthian war under Trajan. See Borghesi's article in Rome. Istit di corrisp. archeol. *Bull. dell' inst. per l'anno* 1851. Roma, 1851, p. 135. And we find traces of it in Africa during the early years of the reign of Antoninus Pius. See C. A. L. Renier, *Inscriptions romaines de l'Algérie.* Paris, 1855. f°. *no.* 4360. From here it presumably returned to Parthia when the war broke out there anew.

[7] This legion had taken part in the Parthian war under Trajan. See Kellermann, *Vigil. Roman.*, *no.* 34. That it was in Syria in the time of Lucius Verus, see Orelli, *no.* 4998; and Borghesi, *Memoria sopra un' iscri-*

that these eight legions contained on an average 6000 men each, we shall have a total of 48,000 men; to which must be added about half as many *uexillarii*,[1] making an entire force of about 75,000 men.[2] As soon as the army was brought into some sort of military discipline it set out, under its efficient generals, to receive the invading army. Lucius Verus remained at Antioch, and devoted himself, according to the testimony of Dion Cassius, to the work of looking after the expenses of the war and obtaining provisions for the army.[3] It has been very much the fashion to picture Lucius's life at Antioch in the blackest colors. Capitolinus tells us that he lived in luxury at Antioch and Daphne, spending his time in gladiatorial sports and hunting.[4] But a slight acquaintance with Capitolinus is sufficient to convince us that he is not an authority in whom we can place implicit confidence. His greatest fault was a love of exaggeration; I question whether a moderately bad character can be found anywhere in his writings. Undoubtedly, Lucius Verus was far from being a noble man. But to suppose that he would allow himself to become the laughing-stock of all the inhabitants of Syria[5] would be to make him a fool as well as a voluptuary. That Verus was a very clever fellow there can be no doubt. Witness, for example, the following letter written by him to Fronto soon after the hostilities in Asia had begun: "You must pardon me in that, fettered as I am by the cares which press upon me, I have attended first to those which were most impera-

zione del console L. Burbuleio Optato Ligariano. Napoli, 1838. 8°. p. 39. [Repub. in Borghesi's *Œuvres*, v. 4, pp. 101–78. pp. 140–1.]

[1] C. A. L. Renier, *Mélanges d'épigraphie.* Paris, 1854. 8°. pp. 114–5.

[2] This list of the Roman forces is taken from Noël des Vergers, *Essai sur Marc-Aurèle*, pp. 56–7.

[3] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 2: *Αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκάθητο, διατάττων ἕκαστα, καὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου ἀθροίζων.*

[4] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 8: *Et Verus quidem posteaquam in Syriam uenit in deliciis apud Antiochiam et Daphnen uixit armisque se gladiatoriis et uenatibus exercuit;* also Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 7: *Antiochiam posteaquam uenit, ipse quidem se luxuriae dedidit.*

[5] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 7: *Risui fuit omnibus Syris. quorum multa ioca in theatro in eum dicta exstant.*

tive; and that, trusting in the indulgence with which you treat me, I have failed to write you for some time. The confidence which I place in your affection has delayed my giving you an account of those plans which I am forced to change from day to day, and the success of which is yet uncertain. But you suggest that I have written to others and not to you. It is because they would be angry if I failed to write, but you, I well know, will pardon me; they would preserve an angry silence, but you write to know the cause; to them I pay a duty which I owe, but to you I write for love. . . . Moreover, it would cost me pain to communicate to one I love, and whom I would see contented, all the troubles which have made my days unhappy, and which have almost compassed the ruin of the Roman arms. . . . Yes, I have done wrong; and against one, too, who little deserved such treatment. But you, I know, will not treat me in the same way. I am sufficiently punished in having sinned. . . . Accept, as my suppliant, Humanity herself; for, if it is human nature to sin, it is also the prerogative of Humanity to pardon."[1] It is absurd to imagine for a moment that an emperor who was being jeered at by every one in the East for his licentiousness would write thus to Rome, complaining of the anxieties of the war, which scarcely gave him an opportunity to write a letter. The cares that rested on him as purveyor to the army must have been very great; and as for his not accepting the generalship himself, why should an unskilled citizen undertake matters of which he had no knowledge, when such generals as Cassius and Priscus were at his command? Antioch was certainly a much more suitable place for him. Here he usually spent the spring and autumn, retiring during the heat of the summer to the gardens at Daphne, and passing the winters at Laodicea, a little sea-coast town near by.[2] On one occasion, he started for the Euphrates in order to join the army; but, hearing that Marcus was sending him his

[1] Fronto, *Epist. ad L. Ver. Imp.*, lib. 2, epist. 2, written in 162.

[2] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 7: *Egit autem per quadriennium Verus hiemem Laodiciae, aestatem apud Daphnen, reliquam partem Antiochiae.*

daughter Lucilla, to whom he had been betrothed before his departure from Italy, he returned and met his bride at Ephesus.[1]

The history of the campaign in Parthia is to a great extent veiled in mystery. The main outlines of the war have been preserved, but we know little of the details.[2] It seems likely that the Roman army was divided into two bodies, one of which, under Statius Priscus, marched against Armenia, while the main force, under Cassius and Martius Verus, advanced to receive the attack of Vologeses. It was a long time before any perceptible advantage was gained on either side. The

[1] Capitolinus puts it that he heard Marcus was coming himself, and so hastened to Ephesus in order that his brother might not learn of the disgraceful scenes which he had been enacting at Antioch. Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 7: *Ad Euphraten tamen inpulsu comitum suorum secundo profectus est. Ephesum etiam rediit, ut Lucillam uxorem missam a patre Marco susciperet, et idcirco maxime, ne Marcus cum ea in Syriam ueniret ac flagitia eius adnosceret. nam senatui Marcus dixerat se filiam in Syriam deducturum.* In another place Capitolinus even goes so far as to say that Marcus really intended to bring his daughter to Syria himself, but that when he reached Brundisium rumors began to be spread abroad that he was going to the East in order to win glory for having brought the war to an end, and so he returned to Rome. Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 9: *Medio belli tempore et Ciuicam patruum Veri et filiam suam nupturam, commissam sorori suae eandemque locupletatam Brundisium usque deduxit, ad eum misit Romamque statim rediit, reuocatus eorum sermonibus qui dicebant Marcum uelle finiti belli gloriam sibimet uindicare atque idcirco in Syriam proficisci.*

[2] It is very unfortunate that we have such imperfect information relative to the Parthian war. Lucian says, in his *Quomodo hist. conscrib. sit.*, c. 2, that he was induced to write his essay on history chiefly on account of the innumerable wretched performances which were called forth by the Parthian war. The names of some of the writers whom he mentions are Callimorphus, one of the army's surgeons (Lucian., c. 16), Creperius Calpurnianus of Pompeiopolis (Lucian., c. 15), and Antiochianus (Lucian., c. 30); but their works are entirely lost. The history of the Parthian war was also written by Quadratus, to whom reference is made in Capitolinus, *Ver. Imp.*, c. 8, and in Gallicanus, *Auid. Cass.*, c. 1; but this book is likewise gone. Fronto, too, proposed to write a history of the war. See Fronto, *Epist. ad L. Ver. Imp.*, lib. 2, epist. 3. But it seems that he never got further than his *Principia historiae*, which is little more than a eulogy of Lucius Verus. We are, therefore, compelled to rely entirely upon the inscriptions of the period and the scattered notices of later historians.

Romans at first acted chiefly on the defensive. Their aim was to protect themselves against the invading enemy; and Dion Cassius says they met the attack of Vologeses bravely.[1] At length the reinforcements which they were expecting from the West arrived. The attitude of the parties towards each other began to change. Gradually the Romans assumed the character of the attacking party; and before many months were past Cassius succeeded in driving Vologeses before him.[2] Meanwhile the other division of the Roman army had proceeded, under Statius Priscus, into the district of Armenia. Their experience was not unlike that which Cassius met with farther south. At first they made slow headway against the barbarians, who were still exulting in their recent victory over the legion sent against them under Severianus. After a while, however, their perseverance was crowned with success. Tiridates, the satrap of Armenia, was at length compelled to give way before the advancing army. Artaxatæ, the capital of the country, was seized.[3] Tiridates himself was taken prisoner and sent to Rome, whence he was exiled by Marcus Aurelius to Britain, in order that he might be as far as possible from his people.[4] The senate hereupon granted both the Emperors the title *Armeniacus;* a title, however, which Marcus did not at once accept, deeming it just to leave that honor undivided to his brother.[5] So that on the coins of this year, 163, Lucius alone is called *Armeniacus;*[6] although both Lucius and his brother were now designated *Imperatores* for

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 2: Καὶ ὃς ἐπιόντα τε τὸν Οὐολόγαισον γενναίως ὑπέμεινεν.

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 2: Καὶ τέλος ἐγκαταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, καὶ ὀπίσω ἀναχωρήσαντα, ἐπεδίωξεν.

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 9: *Gestae sunt res in Armenia prospere per Statium Priscum Artaxatis captis.*

[4] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 14: Τιριδάτην σατράπην τά τε ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ταράξαντα καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἡνιόχων βασιλέα ἀποσφάξαντα, τῷ τε Βήρῳ ἐπιτιμῶντί οἱ περὶ τούτων τὸ ξίφος ἐπανατεινόμενον, μὴ κτείνας, ἀλλ' ἐς Βρεττανίαν πέμψας.

[5] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 9: *Delatumque Armeniacum nomen utrique principum, quod Marcus per uerecundiam primo recusauit, postea tamen recepit.*

[6] Eckhel, v. 7, p. 90; and Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 163.

the second time.[1] In the next year, 164, Marcus accepted the title of *Armeniacus*.[2] The coins of 164 also represent the Emperors restoring the former king to Armenia.[3] This was Soæmus, who had been driven from his throne by Vologeses, and since his expulsion had lived at Rome.[4] The news of the Roman success in Armenia soon spread throughout the country, and the army of Vologeses, already beginning to be worsted, attempted gradually to withdraw. Once, however, within the confines of Mesopotamia, the courage of the barbarians revived. They collected together their scattered forces, and prepared again for battle, but in vain. One after another their cities were forced to surrender. Dausara,[5] Nicephorium,[5] and Edessa[6] all fell before the Roman legions. The next battle was fought at Europus, with a like result.[7] The Parthians now retreated with all haste to the extremities of their kingdom, and Cassius pursued them with equal zeal. At the city of Sura they met again, where the Roman army was once more victorious.[8] On reaching Seleucia the Romans, it is said, were admitted inside the gates as friends, and then turned upon the inhabitants with their arms.[9] At any rate, the city was taken and set on fire,[10] and Cassius continued his march to Ctesiphon. Here

[1] Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 50 and 90; and Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 163.

[2] Eckhel, v. 7, p. 50; and Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 164.

[3] Eckhel, v. 7, p. 91; and Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 164.

[4] Photius, *Bibliotheca*, c. 94 [v. 1, p. 75, line 29 of the ed. of Bekker, Berl., 1824–5].

[5] Fronto, *Epist. ad L. Ver. Imp.*, lib. 2, epist. 1.

[6] Lucian., *Quomodo hist. conscrib. sit*, c. 22.

[7] Lucian., c. 20 and 28.

[8] Lucian., c. 29.

[9] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 8: *Et hoc non L. Veri vitio, sed Casii a quo contra fidem Seleucia, quae ut amicos milites nostros receperat, expugnata est.*

[10] Eutropius, *Breuiar. hist. Roman.*, lib. 8, .. 10: *Seleuciam, Assyriae urbem nobilissimam, cum quadraginta millibus hominum cepit;* Sextus Rufus, *Breviar.*, c. 21: *Seleuciam, Assyriae urbem, cum quadringentis millibus hostium cepit;* Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 2: Καὶ τήν τε Σελεύκειαν διέφθειρεν ἐμπρήσας; Ammian. Marcellin., *Rer. gest.*, lib. 23, c. 6, § 24; Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, lib. 12, c. 2: Μέχρι Σελευκείας ἐδίωξε, καὶ ταύτην ἐνέπρησεν; and Orosius, *Hist. ad-*

the Romans demolished the palace of the Parthian kings.[1] The title *Parthicus* was now, 165, voted to the Emperors.[2] Lucius accepted it at once,[3] but the coins of Marcus of this year do not bear that title.[4] Lucius was also hailed as *Imperator* for the third time in this year,[5] an inscription not found on the coins of Marcus till 166.[6] Not even at Ctesiphon did Cassius cease his march. He pressed on, and penetrated as far as Babylon and the kingdom of Media.[7] The title *Medicus* was now conferred on the Emperors, but it seems that both of them reserved their acceptance of this honor till Lucius returned to Rome;[8] likewise the title of *pater patriae*, which was offered to Marcus, he deferred until the arrival of his brother.[9] The war in the East had lasted now somewhat more than four years, from the autumn of 161 to the beginning of 166.[10] The Parthian army, driven from all its strongholds, was unable to hold out longer, and Vologeses was constrained to sue for peace. The Emperors presumably carried on their negotiations through Avidius Cassius. We learn from Aristides that arrangements for peace were pending during the winter of 166.[11]

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uers. Pagan., lib. 7, c. 15, § 3: *Seleuciam Assyriae urbem super Hydaspen fluuium sitam cum quadringentis milibus hominum cepit.*

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 2: Τὰ τοῦ Οὐολογαίσου βασίλεια, τὰ ἐν τῇ Κτεσιφῶντι, κατέσκαψεν. See also Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, lib. 12, c. 2.

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 9: *Profligato autem bello uterque Parthicus appellatus est. sed hoc quoque Marcus delatum nomen repudiauit quod postea recepit.* [3] Eckhel, v. 7, p. 92; and Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 165.

[4] Eckhel, v. 7, p. 51; and Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 165.

[5] Eckhel, v. 7, p. 92; and Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 165.

[6] Eckhel, v. 7, p. 51; and Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 166.

[7] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 7: *Ita ut Babylonem et Mediam peruenirent.*

[8] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 7: *Partumque ipsi nomen est Armenici Parthici Medici. quod etiam Marco Romae delatum est.* See also Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 51 and 92; and Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 166.

[9] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 9: *Patris patriae autem nomen delatum est fratre absente in eiusdem praesentiam distulit.*

[10] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 7: *Duces autem confecerunt Parthicum bellum, Statius Priscus et Auidius Cassius et Marcius Verus per quadriennium.*

[11] Aristides, *Sermones sacri*, lib. 1 [v. 1, p. 454 of Dindorf's ed.]: Δωδεκάτῃ ἐδόκουν Ἀντωνῖνον τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν πρεσβύτερον καὶ τὸν τῶν πολε-

As the war was drawing to its close the arrogance and vanity of Lucius became more marked. He was now less fully occupied than when the enemy was threatening the boundaries of Syria. He often found the time hang heavy on his hands during the summers that he passed at Daphne. In order, therefore, to vary the monotony, he gave orders that gladiators and actors should be sent to him from Italy. There, in the luxury of his Oriental palace, he passed a life in perfect harmony with the proverbial Daphnean morals. It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that he even yet surrendered himself entirely to the pleasures of the body. The excellent education which had been given him in his boyhood made him crave continually after higher methods of enjoyment. In one of his letters to Marcus, written in 165, he asks that some of Fronto's orations may be sent to him. Marcus, with his characteristic eagerness to encourage friendships, forwards to Fronto all of the latter's orations which he happens to have, and asks him to send them off to Lucius.[1] About this time the letters which passed between Lucius Verus and his teacher were very numerous. It appears that Lucius was becoming more ambitious; and, even if we cannot believe the statement of Dion Cassius that he determined to have Marcus poisoned in order that he might obtain the sole command,[2] it is certain he was eager to gain as much credit as possible for the successful termination of the war. Fronto had recently written him a letter in which the flattering words were used, "It is under your leadership and guidance that Dausara, Nicephorium, and Artaxatæ were taken."[3] Lucius catches at the idea at once. He replies, "If you want me to write a commentary on the war, let me know what the nature of it should be, and I will do as you suggest; for I am ready to undertake anything of the kind, provided only you

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μίων βασιλέα σπονδὰς καὶ φιλίαν πεποιῆσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. That the time here referred to was January, 166, see Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 165.

[1] Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Ant. Imp.*, lib. 2, epist. 7 and 8.

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 2: *Λέγεται γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ πενθερῷ Μάρκῳ ἐπιβεβουλευκὼς, πρίν τι καὶ δράσαι, φαρμάκῳ διαφθαρῆναι.*

[3] Fronto, *Epist. ad L. Ver. Imp.*, lib. 2, epist. 1.

will take care that my share in the work may be made known to the people of Rome. Be sure not to forget the orations which I have sent to the senate, and my exhortations to the army. I will also send you an account of my conferences with the barbarians. You will find all these matters of importance. I don't want you to think that I, your pupil, am trying to convince you of our success; I am only seeking to make you appreciate what has been done. In your oration dwell a good deal on the origin of the war, and even on the disasters which befell us when I was not present. Don't come to speak of what I have done till near the close of your oration. Finally, I think you should emphasize the great superiority of the Parthians until I arrived, that the importance of our operations may be made clear. . . . In other words, though you cannot make my actions other than they are, still you can make them *seem* anything you may desire."[1] In answer to this appeal Fronto wrote his *Principia historiae.* Although it is in many parts sadly mutilated, there is no difficulty in catching the general tenor of the argument. Fronto begins, "The power of the Macedonians, risen with the violence of a torrent, has been overthrown in a single day. Their empire, the growth of a human generation, is now no more. Their people have never possessed towns, villages, or even permanent abodes. They acquired their liberty by reason of their poverty, for they could offer no inducement to the ambition of a conqueror." He then goes on to show with how great losses and with what small results Trajan had subdued these people, with what difficulty Hadrian had kept them in subjection, and how degraded had become the condition of the Roman army in the East during the peaceful reign of Antoninus Pius; so that "Lucius Verus was constrained either to enlist among his soldiers a swarm of novices, or to make use of the veterans who had become effeminate by luxury." He then relates how Lucius sought to avoid a war by offering conditions of peace; and compares the wisdom of this policy with the folly of Trajan, which resulted in

[1] Fronto, *Epist. ad L. Ver. Imp.*, lib. 2, epist. 3.

the loss of so many noble citizens. He defends the action of Lucius, who sent to Rome for actors, "knowing full well that the Roman people require two incentives to activity—food and spectacular performances; that the success of a government depends no less on the amusements which it offers than on the more serious needs which it supplies; that the Empire, though it exposes itself to greater danger in neglecting serious concerns, opens a way for greater discontent by neglecting the amusements; that the people care more for shows than for public largesses; and that, while the poor may be satisfied by distributions of food, yet the entire mass of the people will always be discontented if deprived of their spectacular performances." Finally, he adds, "If, on reading this little memoir, you ask whether Trajan or his great-grandson excelled most in valor, the answer is that the two can be distinguished only by their names." The *Principia historiae* of Fronto must have pleased Lucius hugely. It helped to restore his reputation at home, and encouraged him to hope for even greater honor. In his ambitious schemes, however, Lucius was doomed to disappointment. As soon as the war was over, Marcus, who had thus far borne patiently with his brother's faults,[1] intrusted the governorship of Asia to Avidius Cassius,[2] and urged upon Lucius the propriety of returning home for the purpose of joining in the triumph. It was with reluctance that Lucius tore himself away from the attractions of the East;[3] but at length he acquiesced in his brother's wishes, and, after an absence of nearly five years, returned to Rome.[4]

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[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 8: *Patienterque delicias fratris et prope inuitus ac uolens ferret.*

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 3: Τὸν μέντοι Κάσσιον ὁ Μάρκος τῆς Ἀσίας ἁπάσης ἐπιτροτεύειν ἐκέλευσεν; and Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, lib. 12, c. 2: Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Κάσσιος τῆς Ἀσίας ἁπάσης ἐπίτροπος προκεχείριστο.

[3] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 7: *Romam inde ad triumphum inuitus, quod Syriam quasi regnum suum relinqueret, rediit.*

[4] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 12: *Fratre post quinquennium reuerso.*

Chapter IV.

THE WAR WITH THE MARCOMANNI (FIRST PERIOD). A.D. 166–169.

Triumph.—Pestilence.—Marcus Attempts to Check it.—Lucius Retires to his Villa.—War Breaks out in Germany.—State of the German Tribes.—Marcus Sacrifices to the Gods and Marches with Lucius to the North.—German Tribes Withdraw.—The Emperors in Pannonia.—Success over the Barbarians.—Return to Italy, and Death of Lucius.

On a bright Italian morning towards the end of winter, in 166, the streets of Rome presented a very lively scene. It was, as yet, early in the day, and the aristocracy who resided on Mount Cœlius were scarcely at this hour awake. But the boisterous crowds of the common people gathered in the Forum, the gay attire of the citizens, the banners fluttering in the breeze from every window along the way, and the joyous look on the face of each passer-by, all these betokened some quite unusual festivity. Here and there in the vast throng that grows continually larger as the sun rises higher in the heavens, we discern a little knot of eager listeners collected around some gray-haired veteran, who, for the moment, is the hero of the occasion. He is telling those about him of an event of which he himself has only a vague and distant recollection; for it was in the days when this gray-haired man had to be lifted up in his father's arms, in order to see over the heads of the crowd, that the Emperor Trajan entered the city on his triumph after the second Dacian war. Sixty years have passed away since then—a period characterized by peace and internal progress. Until to-day the people have almost forgotten the meaning of a foreign victory. Now Rome is suddenly awake once more with all the enthusiasm of former

centuries. She opens her proud arms to receive the conquering Emperor on his triumphal return from the East.

It was certainly a splendid victory that the people had to celebrate. The encroachments of the Parthians had filled the entire reign of Antoninus Pius with anxiety.[1] The size of their armies, the power and wealth of their dominions, and the arrogance of their rulers, had been continually increasing since the days of Trajan. Antoninus had attempted to avert the threatened danger by conciliatory measures, but without avail. There had been but one course open to the Romans. Vologeses had determined upon a war, and his wishes had at length been satisfied. The result was more glorious for the Roman arms than even the most sanguine could have hoped. Not only were the invaders driven from the Roman provinces; they were pursued to the very limits of their territory, their cities were plundered and destroyed, their palaces were burned, and their ruler was compelled to sue for peace. By these successes, moreover, the Emperors established their authority so firmly among the neighboring peoples in the East that afterwards the petty kings of those parts sent to Marcus to act as arbitrator for them in their difficulties,[2] and he came to be held in high esteem by all the eastern provinces.[3] It was not strange, then, that the Emperors were desirous to reward their soldiers by a brilliant reception on their return to Rome. No trouble had been spared to secure trophies from the farthest corners of the conquered land. The news of these vast preparations had spread with wonderful rapidity among the people. All sorts of rumors were afloat in regard to the spoils which were to grace the triumphal procession. The number of captives increased enormously as the story passed from mouth to

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[1] Capit., *Ant. Pi.*, c. 12: *Alienatus in febri nihil aliud quam de republica et de his regibus quibus irascebatur locutus est.* See also Fronto, *Principia historiae.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 26: *Multa egit cum regibus et pacem confirmauit sibi occurrentibus cunctis regibus et legatis Persarum.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 26: *Omnibus orientalibus prouinciis carissimus fuit.*

mouth. Every one, on this holiday, was filled with enthusiasm and loyalty.

As the hour approaches for the pageant to begin, all steps are bent in one direction. Many have taken up their stand before dawn at the *Porta Triumphalis*, in order to catch the first glimpse of the heroes as they enter the city walls. Others, unable to endure the fatigue of standing for hours in the burning sun, have secured a seat in some window in expectation of the show. But the vast majority of the population have taken their positions along the street through which the procession is to pass. And, long before the gates are thrown open to the heroes, the *Via Sacra* is lined with a solid mass of spectators on both sides of the street, the entire distance from the *Porta Triumphalis* to the Forum.

At length a movement is noticed among the eager throng about the gate through which the army is to enter. It is evident that the people are not to be kept much longer in suspense. The armed police are pushing back the crowd, which has gradually forced its way ahead so as to block up the entire passage. Two by two the senators are forming into line inside the gates. At their head we observe the most important magistrates of the realm taking their positions with all the dignity that befits the leaders of the foremost nation of the world. The din which has been resounding all the morning through the streets is now nearly hushed. A breathless expectation has settled upon the vast throng. Every eye is directed towards the *Porta Triumphalis*. Suddenly the spell is broken by a clear, shrill trumpet-blast, penetrating far along the narrow street, as if to clear the way before the conquering army. Another moment, and the massive gates which had served as a barrier to the eager crowd are rolled back. The signal is accepted by the magistrates at the front. Close upon them follows the haughty senate. And now the foremost of the conquerors press through the gate, once more within the walls of Rome. The first to receive the shouts of welcome from their friends is the little band of trumpeters, whose piercing notes have cheered their comrades forward in many a bloody battle. Their progress along the street is accompanied by martial airs

which have already more than once spoken to the weary soldier in terms of victory. But now it is almost impossible to hear a note above the welcoming shouts which rend the air. The burst of exultation swells along the line as the procession comes into view, ever attaining its highest pitch a few yards in front of the advancing column. Next to the band of trumpeters appears a long line of wagons, on each of which is displayed some trophy taken from the enemy. Here we see a huge mass of gold piled up in the form of a pyramid on a platform raised above the spectators' heads. Another wagon is decorated with all sorts of silks, artistically arranged to please the eye by the beauty and variety of their colors. Then comes an enormous sheet of canvas stretched across poles, on which is represented the gorgeous palace of Vologeses enveloped in a mass of flames. This is followed by a number of wagons on which are stacked the various implements of warfare with which the enemy had sought to overcome the Roman soldiers. Close after these martial trophies we behold a wagon bearing a heap of articles that speak of more peaceful measures. It is a strange collection, one which has little meaning to the Roman eye; it consists of almost every kind of ornament that can be devised; so brilliant are the colors, and so odd the combinations, that the spectator is almost bewildered by the intricacy of the details; the meaning of this peculiar display would be a mystery but for the inscription at the top, which informs us that these relics were brought home by Roman ambassadors sent to the Emperor of China.[1]

[1] The authority for this statement is the *Tsien-han-schu*, chap. 78, p. 9, where we read, "The kings of Great China have always been eager to enter into relations with China; but the A-si, who sold their goods to the people of Great China, had always been careful to conceal the routes and prevent direct communication between the two Empires. This communication could not take place till the time of the Houan-ti, the ninth year Yan-ti, when the King of Great China, named An-thun, sent some ambassadors. These, however, did not come by the northern route, but by Ji-nan; there was nothing very precious in what they brought." This passage was first laid before European scholars by Antoine Gaubil, in his *Histoire de l'astronomie chinoise* (in Étienne Souciet's *Observations mathemat., astron., géog., chron., et phys.*, Paris, 1729–32. 3v. 4°.

Immediately following this strange sight comes a body of flute-players, and behind them a number of white sacrificial bulls, attended by the priests and other ministers of the sacred rites. After this, two huge elephants pass before our view. Then comes the entire body of captives brought home to gratify the pleasure of the people in the arena, or to swell the imperial forces in some foreign war. Next are displayed the *coronae* and other tokens of allegiance conferred on the Emperors by the nations through whose territories the army had made its way. And now the cheering becomes for the moment hushed. In place of the spoils of war or the long train of captives, a line of Romans walking in single file comes into view. Over their shoulders they bear the *fasces* wreathed with laurel, the symbol of the recent victory. These are the *lictores* of the Emperors, and their presence warns us that the imperial chariot is not far off. Every eye is strained to catch the first glimpse of the triumphant rulers. Before many moments we behold in the distance the long-expected sight. Four spirited horses, drawn up abreast, and tossing their proud heads, lead forward the gilded chariot of the Emperors. There, behind the chariot-rail, stand the two brothers, clad in gold-embroidered robes and flowered tunics, their brows encircled with laurel wreaths, each bearing in his hand

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v. 2, p. 118). Gaubil says that the ninth year Yan-ti is A. D. 166, that Great China is the name by which the Roman Empire was designated, and that these ambassadors must have been sent by An-thun, or Marcus Antoninus, at the end of the Parthian war. The same view is taken by De Guignes, *Hist. gén. des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongols*, Paris, 1756–8. 5v. 4°. v. 1, pt. 2, pp. lxxviii.–ix.; by D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, La Haye, 1779. 4v. 4°. v. 4, pp. 391-2; by Klaproth, *Tabl. histor. de l'Asie*, Paris, 1826. 4°. pp. 68–9; by Abel Rémusat, in Paris. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, *Hist. et mém. de l'inst. royal de France*. Paris, 1827. v. 7, pp. 124–5; by G. Pauthier, *Chine* (in *L'Univers*), Paris, 1837. 8°. pp. 259–60; by Noël des Vergers, *Essai sur Marc-Aurèle*, pp. 57–8; by J. T. Reinaud, *Relations polit. et commerc. de l'emp. rom. avec l'Asie Orient*, Paris, 1863. 8°. pp. 236–9; and by Thomas Hodgkin, *Italy and her invaders*, Oxf., 1880. 2v. 8°. v. 2, pp. 30–2. But it is questioned by Letronne, in Paris. Académie des incriptions et belles-lettres, *Mémoires*, Paris, 1833. N.S. v. 10, p. 227.

a sceptre and a laurel bough. Close behind, in the same chariot with the Emperors, are to be seen Marcus's little children, some of them so young that their nurses are holding them in their arms.[1] Thus, in the midst of all this external splendor, Marcus finds it possible to teach a lesson of fraternal affection and domestic love. Immediately behind the imperial chariot we behold, on horseback, the Roman *equites*, attired in their brilliant holiday trappings. Last of all comes the entire mass of infantry, in marching order, their spears encircled with bands of laurel, and singing praises to the gods. Such was the triumph which the Emperors celebrated in the year 166.

When the long procession had reached its close, and the usual sacrifices had been performed in honor of Jupiter Capitolinus, the invited guests retired to the imperial banquet in the temple, and all the people hastened to the Colosseum to enjoy the sports the Emperors had prepared for them. It is a significant fact that whereas, at the last triumph which the Roman people had witnessed, sixty years before, 10,000 captives were pitted against each other in the arena, on this occasion we do not read of a single gladiatorial contest given at the imperial expense. We can well believe it was not without a moral purpose that Marcus substituted at his triumph a series of gymnastic sports in place of the brutal, but customary, gladiatorial combats.[2] Even in the gymnastic contests he afforded a new example of his humanity; for we are told that, on account of the injuries which had resulted to the rope-walkers from falling on the ground, he gave orders that mattresses should be spread beneath the rope;[3] and a writer of a hundred and fifty years later testifies to the wisdom of that practice by declaring it to have been the origin of the custom of spreading nets beneath the rope-walkers, which was prevalent in his own

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 12: *In triumpho autem liberos Marci utriusque sexus secum uexerunt, ita tamen ut puellas uirgines ueherunt.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 12: *Ludos etiam ob triumphum decretos spectauerunt habitu triumphali.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 12: *Funambulis post puerum lapsum culcitas subici iussit.*

time.[1] Altogether, this triumphal day marked a glorious epoch in the annals of the Empire. The title of *Imperatores*, by which Marcus and Lucius had been already thrice hailed, was conferred upon them for the fourth time.[2] Marcus now accepted the title of *Parthicus*, which had been given to Lucius in the previous year; and both the Emperors accepted together the appellation of *Medicus*.[3] Civic crowns were also offered to them both;[4] and, as a final honor, to each of them was now granted the title of *pater patriae*.[5]

The festivities of a triumphal procession are necessarily marred by the sorrows of the bereaved families. Indeed, it may be easily believed that one of the motives by which a returning conqueror was actuated in granting a triumph to his soldiers was that the bereaved parents might in a measure forget their own sufferings in the public joy. The triumph of Marcus and Lucius was especially saddening in this respect. The Parthian war had not been behindhand either in the number or in the vehemence of its encounters. Unfortunately, we have no lists given us of the killed and wounded; nor from the vague accounts preserved can we form even an approximate conjecture of the losses. It was not, however, in this campaign that the Roman armies suffered most. They were exposed to a scourge far more terrible than any that could be inflicted by the sword. It was during the victorious march of Avidius Cassius through the Parthian Kingdom that the plague first broke out among the Roman soldiers. This terrible disease, of which so little is even yet known, seems to have lurked almost perpetually in out-of-the-way corners of Egypt and Southwestern Asia. Gibbon, who gives a vivid description of its horrors, says it origi-

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[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 12: *Unde hodieque rete praetenditur.*

[2] Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 51 and 92; and Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 166.

[3] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 8: *Habuit hanc reuerentiam Marci Verus, ut nomina quae sibi delata fuerant cum fratre communicaret die triumphi, quem pariter celebrarunt.* See also Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 51 and 92; and Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 166.

[4] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 12: *Corona praeterea ciuica oblata est ambobus.*

[5] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 12: *Patris patriae nomen ambobus decretum est.*

nated in the putrefaction of animal substances, and that a frequent cause of its spread was the decomposition of the huge swarms of locusts by which Egypt was often visited.[1] Very little, apparently, was known of the origin of the pestilence which broke out in 166. The only Latin writers who attempt to account for it at all do so by the aid of superstitious fables. Capitolinus says the plague began in Babylon. According to his story, one of the Roman soldiers who was in the temple of Apollo in that city happened to break open a golden casket which he found there; and immediately there arose from it an exhalation tainted with the plague, which spread at once through Parthia and the entire world.[2] The same writer goes on to say that this evil was inflicted by the gods as a retribution upon Avidius Cassius for having disregarded the oath in consequence of which the citizens of Seleucia had admitted him within their walls.[3] Ammianus Marcellinus probably has in mind the same story when he tells us that one day the Roman soldiers, searching for treasure in the temple at Seleucia, discovered a narrow hole, from which they proceeded to remove the covering; whereupon, from a deep gulf which the secret science of the Chaldeans had closed up, there issued a gust of wind impregnated with a fatal pestilence.[4] Whatever the cause of the scourge, it undoubtedly began in Parthia, and spread with great rapidity throughout the Roman army. As soon as Cassius had done his work at the capital of Vologeses he hastened back to Syria; but on his way lost many soldiers by hunger and disease.[5] It seems that a large part of the army was then left in Syria under Cassius to guard the Roman frontier. The others accom-

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[1] Gibbon, *Decline and fall of the Roman Empire*, v. 4, p. 161.

[2] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 8: *Nata fertur pestilentia in Babylonia ubi de templo Apollinis ex arcula aurea, quam miles forte inciderat, spiritus pestilens euasit atque inde Parthos orbemque complesse.*

[3] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 8: *Et hoc non L. Veri uitio, sed Cassii a quo contra fidem Seleucia, quae ut amicos milites nostros receperat, expugnata est.*

[4] Ammian. Marcellin., *Rer. gest.*, lib. 23, c. 6, § 24.

[5] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 2: Ἐν γε μὴν τῇ ὑποστροφῇ πλείστους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ νόσου ἀπέβαλεν.

panied Lucius Verus to Rome for the purpose of joining in his triumph, and we read that in every province through which he passed he left the seeds of the pestilence behind him.[1] Nor did Rome herself escape. Indeed, the plague seems to have visited the entire Empire. Ammianus Marcellinus says that it polluted with contagion and death the whole world, from the borders of Persia to the Rhine and Gaul.[2] Eutropius, too, informs us that the pestilence raged with such fierceness in Rome, and throughout Italy and the provinces, that the greater part of the army and of the population was carried off;[3] and Galen, the celebrated physician, who was in Rome at this time, refers to it as "the great plague."[4] It is impossible to exaggerate the distress which was thus occasioned. Niebuhr regards this pestilence as the turning-point in the history of the Roman Empire.[5] In order fully to appreciate the political significance of this calamity, we should bear in mind the peculiar circumstances in which the state was then placed. The lack of young men capable of bearing arms had been at all times one of the greatest hinderances to the stability of the Empire. But

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[1] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 8: *Fuit eius fati, ut in eas prouincias per quas rediit Romam usque luem secum deferre uideretur.*

[2] Ammian. Marcellin., *Rer. gest.*, lib. 23, c. 6, § 24: *Ab ipsis Persarum finibus, adusque Rhenum et Gallias cuncta contagiis polluebat et mortibus.*

[3] Eutropius, lib. 8, c. 12: *Sub hoc enim tantus casus pestilentiae fuit, ut post uictoriam Persicam, Romae ac per Italiam prouinciasque, maxima hominum pars, militum omnes fere copiae languore defecerint.*

[4] Galen., *De lib. prop.*, c. 1 [v. 19, p. 15 of Kühn's ed.]: Τοῦ μεγάλου λοιμοῦ. The same writer refers to the plague again in his *Quod anim. mores corp. temp. seq.*, c. 5 [v. 4, p. 788]: Ἔν τε τῇ λοιμώδει νόσῳ τῇ νῦν γενομένῃ ἔτεσιν οὐ πολλοῖς. With regard to the nature and symptoms of the disease, see Galen., *De atra bile*, c. 4 [v. 5, p. 115]; *De praesagit. ex puls.*, lib. 3, c. 4 [v. 9, p. 357]; *Method. medend.*, lib. 5, c. 12 [v. 10, pp. 360–7]; *De simplic. medicament. temperament. ac facultat.*, lib. 9, c. 1, § 4 [v. 12, p. 191]; *Comment.* 3 *in Hippocrat. lib.* 3 *Epidem.*, Aph. 57 [v. 17, pt. 1, p. 709]; *Comment.* 1 *in Hippocrat. lib.* 6 *Epidem.*, Aph. 29 [v. 17, pt. 1, p. 885]; and *Comment.* 4 *in Hippocrat. Aphorism.*, Aph. 31 [v. 17, pt. 2, p. 683]. Cf. also Hecker, *De peste Antonin. comment.*, pp. 18–24.

[5] Niebuhr, *Lectures on the hist. of Rome*, v. 3, p. 251.

this difficulty made itself felt with special force immediately upon the conclusion of the Parthian war. During the five preceding years the Roman population had been steadily decreasing. While war was decimating the army in the East, the distress occasioned by the overflow of the Tiber had served to check, even if it did not diminish, the population of Rome and Italy; so that, even if the scourge had been delayed for several years, it would have been impossible to make up for the losses which the army had suffered in the Parthian war. In the midst of all these misfortunes, another war was brewing on the northern frontiers. How to postpone this danger as long as possible, and how to be ready to meet it when it could be delayed no longer, were problems which seemed unanswerable. The entire mass of the people was in consternation. Even Marcus Aurelius was not free from the general anxiety. One of the greatest difficulties, as is always the case in times of infectious diseases, was to secure the proper burial of the dead. At the time when the scene of horror reached its highest point it was seldom that even the nearest relatives of the deceased could be induced to place his body in a spot where it would cause no danger to the other citizens. The government undertook the duty of carting away the bodies that were found lying in the streets, as well as those which they were able to discover in private houses.[1] But in very many instances the relatives of the deceased hastily threw the body into some corner, and then hurried away from the spot, leaving the corpse to contaminate the surroundings until it should chance to be discovered by the officials. It had been the law for many years that no one should be buried inside the city walls, lest the atmosphere might be polluted. This sanitary regulation was now especially necessary; and it appears from a passage in Capitolinus that the Emperors took extraordinary measures to enforce it while the plague lasted.[2] More than

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 13: *Tanta autem pestilentia fuit, ut uehiculis cadauera sint exportata serracisque.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 13: *Tunc autem Antonini leges sepeliendi sepulchrorumque asperrimas sanxerunt.* The interpretation of this passage is

this, they did their best to prevent contagion from the bodies laid in private tombs outside the city. With this in view, they ordered that no tombs should be built except on certain principles of construction recommended by the sanitary officers.[1] Among the other precautions taken by Marcus was one with reference to the transportation of dead bodies through the towns and villages. In one of his rescripts he declares that, though such a conveyance will be allowed if properly conducted, yet no one ought to undertake a matter of that kind without first obtaining permission from the authorities.[2] Provided, however, these few requirements of the law were complied with, Marcus was zealous in urging that the wishes of a testator as to the manner of his burial should be carried out;[3] and the Emperors even published an edict, admonishing the people that when a body had once been placed beneath the earth, it should thereafter be permitted to rest in peace.[4] This was truly a dreadful epoch in the city's annals. Exactly what proportion of the population was carried off by the plague it is impossible to determine. Capitolinus computes it vaguely at many thousands; and he adds that among

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discussed by Dirksen with his usual acumen in his *Die Script. hist. Aug.*, pp. 170–80. He maintains that it has reference rather to the enforcement of laws which had been already passed on the subject, than to the enactment of any new regulations.

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 13: *Quando quidem cauerunt nequis ut uellet fabricaretur sepulchrum.* Dirksen, in his *Die Script. hist. Aug.*, pp. 180–3, seems to me to go very far out of his way to find a meaning in this passage. His conclusion is that we have here the first reference to a law which in later times became firmly established, to the effect that no one should be allowed to turn a place which had once been used as a sepulchre into an abode for living beings.

[2] Iustinian., *Dig.*, lib. 47, tit. 12, c. 3, § 4: *Diuus tamen Marcus rescripsit nullam poenam meruisse eos, qui corpus in itinere defuncti per uicos aut oppidum transuexerunt, quamuis talia fieri sine permissu eorum, quibus permittendi ius est, non debeant.*

[3] *Dig.*, lib. 11, tit. 7, c. 14, § 14: *Diuus autem Marcus rescripsit eum heredem, qui prohibet funerari ab eo quem testator elegit, non recte facere: poenam tamen in eum statutam non esse.*

[4] *Dig.*, lib. 11, tit. 7, c. 39: *Diui fratres edicto admonuerunt, ne iustae sepulturae traditum, id est terra conditum, corpus inquietetur.*

those who died were many of the most eminent citizens of Rome.[1] In spite of the exhausted condition of the treasury, the Emperor cheerfully contributed in every way to alleviate the general distress. The funerals of the lower classes were all conducted at the public expense.[2] And in honor of the more illustrious citizens the Emperor had monuments erected, hoping in this way to cheer up the afflicted families in their despondency.[3]

Meanwhile, Lucius Verus had withdrawn himself from the dangers of the pestilence. Shortly after the conclusion of his triumph he had chosen a healthful spot outside the city, on the *Via Clodia;* and here he had built a magnificent villa, from the veranda of which he could look down over the *Lacus Sabatinus.*[4] At this place, while his subjects were writhing under the agony of disease, Lucius, in the society of his friends and freedmen, was gratifying his taste for luxury to his heart's content. On one occasion he gave at this villa an unusually splendid feast, to which he invited, among many others, his brother Marcus, never for a moment anticipating that Marcus would accept. But in this he was disappointed; his brother came, thinking that he might perhaps, by his example, exert a good influence upon Lucius.[5] Apparently he did not succeed. The festival occupied in all five days; during this time Marcus did his best to make the entertainment pass off happily, seeking, by a little suggestion here and there, to stimulate his companions to higher thoughts. The surroundings were by no means congenial to him. He could not help perceiving that his efforts to do good were a source of

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 13: *Multa quidem milia pestilentia consumpsit, multosque ex proceribus;* also Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 17: *Pestilentia grauis multa milia et popularium et militum interemerat.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 13: *Tantaque clementia fuit, ut et sumptu publico uulgaria funera iuberet ecferri.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 13: *Quorum amplissimis Antoninus statuas conlocauit.*

[4] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 8: *Villam praeterea extruxit in uia Clodia famosissimam.*

[5] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 8: *Qui uenit, ut fratri uenerabilem morum suorum et imitandam ostenderet sanctitudinem.*

inward merriment to most of those about him. But when the festival was over he returned to Rome, trusting he had sown some little seed that would in the future bring forth fruit. For a moment the reflection that he had done a good work filled his soul with pride. But he soon banished this selfish thought. What reason was there for pride in doing what a true man must by nature do? "As a horse when he has run, a dog when he has tracked the game, a bee when it has made the honey, so a man, when he has done a good act, does not call out for others to come and see, but he goes on to another act, as a vine goes on to produce again the grapes in season."[1] The life of Lucius continued in much the same course as before his brother's visit. The reverence which, in the first years of his reign, he had felt for Marcus was gradually wearing off, and he was less obedient to his brother's wishes.[2] When he had been recalled from his luxurious life at Daphne, he had brought with him to Rome a number of his favorite actors. The chief of these was Maximinus, whom Lucius nicknamed Paris.[3] Among the others were Pylades and Apolausto, whose comparative merits are the sole theme of the last letter addressed to Fronto which is preserved.[4] With such companions as these the imperial voluptuary continued his debauches at the suburban villa, while Marcus was struggling to keep down the ravages of the plague at Rome. In January, 167, Lucius was induced to abandon his luxurious mode of life long enough to accept the honorary position of

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[1] *Thoughts*, lib. 5, c. 6.

[2] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 8: *Reuersus e Parthico bello minore circa fratrem cultu fuit Verus. nam et libertis inhonestius indulsit et multa sine fratre disposuit.*

[3] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 8: *Histriones eduxit e Syria. quorum praecipuus fuit Maximinus quem Paridis nomine nuncupauit.*

[4] Fronto, *Epist. ad L. Ver. Imp.*, lib. 1, epist. 2, written in 166. The circumstances of Fronto's death are not recorded, but it probably took place in this year; since Fronto had already reached an advanced age, and the correspondence, which had been continued, with scarcely an interruption, for the last five years, discloses a serious physical disorder in Fronto, and breaks off suddenly in the year 166.

consul.[1] But in those days, when the *consules suffecti* were so often substituted for the regular consuls of the year, there is little reason to suppose that Lucius Verus allowed himself to be long burdened by the duties of his office.

The year 167 opened with a series of events well suited to extinguish any spark of hope yet lingering in the Roman breast. For some time the barbarians on the northern frontiers had displayed an ever-growing uneasiness and desire for warfare. Only a few months after the death of Antoninus Pius the Chatti, a wild tribe dwelling in what is now Southern Germany, had wandered away from their home and made an incursion into the province of Rhætia.[2] We are told that Aufidius Victorinus was sent against them.[3] But nothing further is recorded of this trouble.[4] It appears, however, that this movement among the German nations, even if quieted for a little time, was by no means permanently settled. While the Parthian war was still in progress, a disturbance broke out among the Marcomanni; and it was only by the most strenuous exertions of the Roman officers stationed in that part of the Empire that it was possible to delay an open

[1] Eckhel, v. 7, p. 52; and Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 167.

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 8: *Chatti in Germaniam ac Rhaetiam inruperant.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 8: *Contra Chattos Aufidius Victorinus.*

[4] From a passage in Gallicanus, however, there seems reason to believe that the hostilities carried on at this time between the Germans and the Roman forces were of a somewhat serious nature. In the passage referred to, it is stated that at one time the army of Avidius Cassius attacked three thousand of the Sarmatians on the banks of the Danube, and obtained from them a vast amount of plunder. Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 4: *Cum exercitum duceret et inscio ipso manus auxiliaria centurionibus suis auctoribus tria milia Sarmatarum neglegentius agentium in Danuuii ripis occidissent et cum praeda ingenti ad eum redissent, etc.* Since we know that Cassius was left in charge of the eastern provinces immediately after the Parthian war (Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 3), and that he remained there until his death, we are forced to place the event mentioned above by Gallicanus in the period immediately preceding the Parthian war; in accordance with this hypothesis, it seems likely that the ability of Avidius Cassius to conduct the war in the East became known to the Emperors while he was yet fighting against the Germans.

war until the return of the army from the East.[1] At last the evil reached a point at which conciliatory measures were no longer possible. Just at the moment when the pestilence was raging at its very worst, the dismal tidings were brought to Rome that the Victuali and Marcomanni, two wandering tribes whose temporary homes had been along the northern bank of the Danube, had stirred up their neighbors to rebellion by threats of slaughter, and, in company with them, had made an incursion into the Roman territories, had overthrown the *praefectus praetorio* Victorinus, with a portion of his army, and had already advanced as far as Aquileia, on the Adriatic Sea.[2] As the entire remaining portion of Marcus Aurelius's

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[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 12: *Dum Parthicum bellum geritur natum est Marcomannicum, quod diu eorum qui aderant arte suspensum est, ut finito iam orientali bello Marcomannicum agi posset;* also Galen., *De praenot.*, c. 9 [v. 14, p. 649 of Kühn's ed.]: Ἐπανελληλυθότος τοῦ Λευκίου, πολέμου δ' ἑτέρου τοῦ πρὸς Γερμανοὺς πολεμηθέντος αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴ καθεστήκει.

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 14: *Et Victualis et Marcomannis cuncta turbantibus; aliis etiam gentibus quae pulsae a superioribus barbaris fugerant nisi reciperentur bellum inferentibus. nec parum profuit ista profectio, cum Aquileiam usque venissent . . . quod amissus esset praefectus praetorio Furius Victorinus atque pars exercitus interisset.* Wietersheim, in his *Gesch. der Völkerwand.*, Buch 2, Capit. 1, Anmerk. 1, asserts, quite without reason, that Capitolinus was in error as to the *praefectus praetorio* who was thus slain; and he refers to Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 3, in support of his view that the name of the *praefectus praetorio* was Macrinus Vindex. It will be evident, however, on consulting these two passages, that there is not the slightest ground for supposing that Dion Cassius and Capitolinus have in mind the same event. The death of Macrinus Vindex occurred, in all probability, at a later stage in the war.

From a passage in Lucian, it appears that the engagement under Furius Victorinus was of a very serious nature. In speaking of one of the oracles proclaimed by Alexander, he says that while Marcus Aurelius was in the heat of the war with the Marcomanni and Quadi, the oracle commanding that two lions should be thrown into the Danube was obeyed; and yet, as a denunciation of the false prophet Alexander, a great defeat and slaughter presently after befell the Roman forces, nearly twenty thousand of them being slain in a single battle. Lucian., *Alex. seu Pseud.*, c. 48: Αὐτίκα δὲ τὸ μέγιστον τραῦμα τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐγένετο δισμυρίων που σχεδὸν ἀθρόων ἀπολομένων. That this slaughter of nearly twenty thousand of the Roman troops was the same battle as that in which Capitolinus says Furius

reign was occupied with struggles against these nations, it may be well to consider briefly the causes which led to this irruption in 167. For many centuries after the German tribes found their way into the territory between the Rhine and the Vistula they preserved their primitive habits as a wandering people. Even so late as the days of Cæsar they are described as subsisting mainly on what they could get by hunting and fishing, and as spending their spare time in making war upon their neighbors. After a while, however, they appear to have outgrown this style of life. They gradually cast off their wandering habits, and settled down to farming. At the same time their wars against each other became less frequent. This corresponds with the picture of them given us by Tacitus, about a century after Christ. The result of this regular, agricultural life, combined with a comparative freedom from invasions, tended in a short time to a vast increase in the population. Meanwhile it must be remembered that the pressure of their brethren from the East had never ceased. One tribe after another pushed its way westward into the territory of its forerunners, until, about the time of Marcus Aurelius, the country between the Rhine and the Vistula became so densely peopled that the inhabitants, with their imperfect knowledge of agriculture and mechanics, could no longer live on the products of their farms. Thus the old love for war and plunder, which still smouldered in the German breast, was stimulated into activity once more. But there was one important difference between the movement which we are now considering and that which first brought the Teutonic nations into Europe; the Germans were no longer striving to acquire a home, but were seeking to enlarge a home which they possessed already. In other words, while the first movement may properly be called a wandering, the second is to be re-

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Victorinus, with a portion of his army, was slain, there can be no question; for Lucian goes on to say that immediately after this slaughter followed the trouble at Aquileia, when the city itself was almost taken. Lucian., *Alex. seu Pseud.*, c. 48: Εἶτα ἐπηκολούθησε τὰ περὶ Ἀκυληίαν γενόμενα καὶ ἡ παρὰ μικρὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἅλωσις.

garded rather as an expansion. This general expansion of the German tribes between the Rhine and the Vistula began to make itself felt in the Roman Empire at almost the same time that the Ostrogoths, another tribe of Germanic origin, dwelling just beyond the Vistula, at its mouth, began to spread in a southeasterly direction towards the Black Sea. With the Ostrogoths the reign of Marcus Aurelius is not at all concerned. They were gathering up their strength for a later period, leaving it to their brothers on the west side of the Vistula to make the first incursions into the Roman territory. This inroad of the year 167 was the earliest of a series of invasions which form the main feature in all the later history of the Empire. Now, for the first time, the Roman Empire was forced to take the defensive in her relations with the German people.

We can readily believe that, when the intelligence of this new distress reached the plague-stricken city, the people were in consternation.[1] It seemed as if the many evils that had come upon them within the last few years must be a visitation from the gods. The Pagan superstitions, which had long been allowed to slumber in comparative quiet, awoke once more with all their former vigor. It was at this time that the notorious Alexander proclaimed the oracular message that the people were to trust in Phœbus; that he was the god who would deliver them from the plague.[2] Such was the general terror that everybody believed the impostor, and Lucian tells us that in his days this oracle of Alexander was often to be seen inscribed on the doors of houses as an infallible *alexipharmacon*.[3] All felt that some public sacrifice must be performed; that the gods demanded an atonement for their neglected worship. Even Marcus, apparently, shared the general opinion. At any rate, he gratified on this occa-

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[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 13: *Tantus autem timor belli Marcomannici fuit, ut, etc.*

[2] Lucian., *Alex. seu Pseud.*, c. 36: Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης λοιμοῦ νεφέλην ἀπερύκει.

[3] Lucian., *Alex. seu Pseud.*, c. 36.

sion the wishes of his subjects. In order that no one might be dissatisfied, he summoned priests from all directions, and performed not only the Roman rites, but also those practised among foreign nations.[1] For seven successive days he conducted the Roman rite known as the *lectisternium:*[2] and the people, believing that by this ceremony the transgressions of the past were purged away, began to look forward to the future with brighter hopes.

At last the Emperors, clad in their military garments, set off together for the war.[3] This was, probably, in the early spring of the year 167.[4] It may seem strange that, after the life which Lucius had passed during his campaign in the East, his brother should have selected him as his companion in the German war; but the difference in circumstances must not be forgotten. On this occasion Lucius was not to serve as a military leader in any way. His position was clearly subordinate, if, indeed, he held any position at all. The reason why Marcus desired to have his brother with him is obvious. The rumor mentioned by Dion Cassius, that after the Parthian war Lucius became ambitious to rule alone, may have had no weight with Marcus; but, at all events, he must have felt that his colleague was not deriving much benefit from his luxurious life in the Roman suburbs, and he certainly was doing little there to promote the welfare of the state.[5] A sol-

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[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 13: *Undique sacerdotes Antoninus acciuerit, peregrinos ritus impleuerit, Romam omni genere lustrauerit retardatusque bellica profectione sit.* The coins of 167 also represent the Emperor in the act of offering sacrifices. Eckhel, v. 7, p. 53.

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 13: *Celebrauit et Romano ritu lectisternia per septem dies.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 14: *Profecti tamen sunt paludati ambo imperatores.*

[4] It could not have been much earlier, for Lucius began his duties as consul on the 6th of January of that year. Nor could it have been a great deal later, for Marcus was already in Rome again on the 6th of January, 168.

[5] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 9: *Ad bellum Germanicum Marcus quod nollet Lucium sine se uel ad bellum mittere uel in urbe dimittere causa luxuriae, simul profecti sunt.*

dier's life, under the strict surveillance of Marcus, might well be expected to produce a good result.

The force which accompanied the Emperors on this expedition against the Marcomanni was undoubtedly a small one: for, at the time, Rome was not able to furnish an army of great strength. Some few fragments of the troops which had returned victorious from the East were still left. These, with a few additions from the younger generation, probably constituted the imperial forces.

The march was directed towards the town of Aquileia, where the barbarians were believed to be collected. The distance to be covered was little more than three hundred miles; so that in less than three weeks the Roman army came into the neighborhood of the enemy. The terrifying news which had been received at Rome had prepared them for a pretty serious encounter; but in this they were disappointed. On reaching Aquileia they were greeted with the intelligence that the enemy had withdrawn towards the northeast. Instead of meeting with an armed resistance they were accosted by ambassadors from the various aggressive tribes, who now sued for peace. The reasons for this change of attitude are manifest. When the Germans began their predatory march they had a very indefinite idea of what they wanted. Indeed, their numbers were made up from several independent tribes, each of which was urged on by its own peculiar interests. They seem to have had but two things in common—dissatisfaction with their present lot and a longing for some change. Apparently, the most powerful element in this first uprising consisted of the Victuali and Marcomanni.[1] These tribes, already outgrowing the limits of their territories, experienced about this time an unusual pressure from their neighbors on the north, and thus the final incentive was given to a migration of many of their people. The natural direction for their wanderings was that in which they felt the least pressure—in other words, towards the south. Probably, too, they were

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 14: *Et Victualis et Marcomannis cuncta turbantibus.* Of these two tribes the Marcomanni, from whom the war derived its name, were undoubtedly the leading power.

allured by the attractive pictures of the lands of Italy which had been brought to them by occasional stragglers. These tribes, therefore, leagued themselves with the Germans who had pressed upon them from the north, and together they journeyed across the Carnic Alps in quest of a habitation.[1] On their way they were joined by several other tribes, or portions of tribes, who were discontented with their present condition. Chief among these were the Quadi, a powerful race who dwelt in the mountainous region contiguous to the territory of the Marcomanni on the east. By this motley throng of malcontents the country around Aquileia was laid waste. Not long, however, after their first appearance in the Roman provinces, dissension began to spread itself throughout their ranks. An army bound together by no stronger ties than a general feeling of dissatisfaction cannot remain long united. One man after another straggled away from the main body, either with the belief that his individual needs could be best provided for by his own efforts, or else recalled by the prospect of a brighter future in his home. Several of the petty kings withdrew, taking with them the entire body of their people, and putting to death those who had incited them to the insurrection;[2] so that when the Emperors arrived at the seat of war they were confronted solely by a number of ambassadors, suing for pardon.[3]

On learning of this change in the attitude of the barbarians, Lucius, still despondent over the death of Furius Victorinus, dreaded any farther advance of the army, and urged that the ambassadors' petitions should be granted.[4] Marcus, however, distrusted the sincerity of the Germans,[5] or, at all events, fore-

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 14: *Aliis etiam gentibus quae pulsae a superioribus barbaris fugerant nisi reciperentur bellum inferentibus.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 14: *Plerique reges et cum populis suis se retraxerunt et tumultus auctores interemerunt.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 14: *Cum plerique ad legatos imperatorum mitterent defectionis ueniam postulantes.*

[4] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 14: *Lucius quidem quod amissus esset praefectus practorio Furius Victorinus atque pars exercitus interisset redeundum esse censebat.*

[5] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 14: *Marcus autem fingere barbaros aestimans et*

saw that the conditions which had given rise to the present trouble would before long recur once more. He therefore deemed it folly to retire without taking steps to prevent future depredations on the part of the barbarians. In the end the authority or arguments of Marcus prevailed. The Emperors crossed the Carnic Alps into the provinces of Noricum and Pannonia,[1] and here they seem to have remained during the rest of the year, with a view to inspire fear in the barbarians by their presence. In this same year the Quadi, who had recently lost their king, sent to the Emperors requesting them to choose his successor.[2] Marcus seems to have complied with their request, and to have selected as their king a man named Furtius.[3] Towards the end of the year Marcus felt himself needed at Rome on some matter of state; and Lucius, to whom the provincial life in Pannonia offered few attractions, accompanied his brother as far as Aquileia.[4] Exactly how long Marcus remained in the imperial city we cannot determine, but he was still there on the 6th of January, 168, for on that day he delivered an oration before the soldiers in the prætorian camp.[5] Immediately upon the conclusion of

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fugam et cetera quae securitatem bellicam ostenderent, ob hoc ne tanti apparatus mole premerentur instandum esse ducebat.

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 14: *Denique transcensis Alpibus longius processerunt.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 14: *Quadi autem amisso rege suo non prius se confirmaturos eum qui erat creatus dicebant quam id nostris placuisset imperatoribus.*

[3] We are not told in distinct terms that this king, Furtius, owed his appointment to Marcus Aurelius; but it seems probable that such was the case, for it is asserted by Dion Cassius that, when the Quadi, at a later stage of the war, dethroned King Furtius, and raised up a certain Ariogæsus in his stead, Marcus was so indignant that he refused in any way to recognize the new king. Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 13: Καὶ τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν Φούρτιον ἐκβαλόντες, Ἀριόγαισον αὐτοὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν βασιλέα σφίσιν ἐστήσαντο. καὶ τούτοις διὰ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ οὔτε ἐκεῖνον, ὡς καὶ νόμῳ τινὶ γεγονότα ἐβεβαίωσεν οὔτε τὰς σπονδάς, καίπερ πέντε μυριάδας αἰχμαλώτων ἀποδώσειν ὑπισχνουμένοις, ἀνενεώσατο.

[4] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 9: *Composito autem bello in Pannonia, urgento Lucio Aquileiam redierunt.*

[5] *Iuris anteiustinian. frag.*, c. 195: *Enim secundum orationem diui Marci,*

the business which had called him to Rome he returned to the North, and was joined by his brother at Aquileia. The two Emperors passed the rest of the winter together at Sirmium, the capital of Pannonia,[1] where their time was occupied not so much in carrying on warfare as in settling disputes among the barbarian tribes, and in establishing on a firmer basis the relations of these tribes to the Roman Empire.[2] It seems, however, that even as early as this Marcus anticipated renewed difficulties in the future, for he busied himself diligently in strengthening the fortifications necessary for the protection of Italy and of Illyricum.[3] During the course of this year, probably in the summer of 168, it seems likely that another engagement took place between the Romans and the barbarians, in which the imperial forces came off victorious. Marcus and Lucius were now hailed as *Imperatores* for the fifth time.[4] Shortly after this event Lucius determined to remain in Pannonia no longer. The military regulations to which he had for the last eighteen months subjected himself were extremely distasteful to his nature. He

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quam in castris praetoris recitauit Paulo iterum et Aproniano conss. VIII. id. Ian.

[1] This appears from a passage in Philostratus, where it is stated that a certain dispute was laid before Marcus, then residing at Sirmium, in Pannonia. The date is fixed at 168 by the statement that Lucius was still alive at the time. Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.*, lib. 2, c. 1, § 11: Οἱ δὲ ὑπεξῆλθον ἀφανῶς παρὰ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Μάρκον, θαρροῦντες τῇ τε φύσει τοῦ βασιλέως δημοτικωτέρᾳ οὔσῃ καὶ τῷ καιρῷ· ὧν γὰρ ὑπώπτευσε Λούκιον καινωνὸν αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς γενόμενον, οὐδὲ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἠφίει τοῦ μὴ οὐ ξυμμετέχειν αὐτῷ. ὁ μὲν δὴ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐκάθητο ἐς τὰ Παιόνια ἔθνη ὁρμητηρίῳ τῷ Σιρμίῳ χρώμενος.

[2] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 9: *De quo bello* [*quidem per legatos barbarorum pacem petentium quidem per duces nostros gestum est*].

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 14: *Composueruntque omnia quae ad munimen Italiae atque Illyrici pertinebant.*

[4] Some of the coins of this year still bear the inscription *Imp. IV.*; whereas on others we read the inscription *Fort. red.* (i. e., *Fortuna redux*) as well as *Imp. V.* Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 57 and 93; and Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 168. It is, therefore, evident that the advantage gained over the enemy which won for the fifth time the title of *Imperatores* occurred in the course of the year 168.

longed for the luxuries of city life.[1] The plague, too, appears to have broken out with unusual violence at this time, especially about Aquileia, where the army was wintering.[2] The celebrated Galen had been sent for, that the soldiers might receive the benefit of his experience,[3] but thus far his endeavors had failed to check the spread of the disease.[4] Marcus, therefore, was compelled to give up his intention of marching against the Germans as soon as the winter was over;[5] so he at last ceased to urge his brother to remain at Aquileia longer. A letter was despatched to the senate, instructing them to make preparations to receive the Emperors on their return to Rome;[6] and about the 1st of January, 169, they began the return-journey, taking with them a small body of their soldiers.[7] Lucius, however, was not to visit again the scene of his earlier debauches. Scarcely had they passed the town of Concordia, in the district of Venetia, when, with the walls of Altinum almost in sight, Lucius was struck with a fit of apoplexy, of which he died at Altinum three days after.[8] This was between the 1st of January

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[1] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 9: *Quodque urbanas desiderabat Lucius uoluptates.*

[2] Galen., *De lib. prop.*, c. 2 [v. 19, p. 18 of Kühn's ed.]: Ἐπιβάντος οὖν μου τῆς Ἀκυλίας κατέσκηψεν ὁ λοιμὸς ὡς οὔπω πρότερον.

[3] Galen., *De lib. prop.*, c. 2 [v. 19, p. 18]: Ἀφίκετο δ' εὐθέως ἐξ Ἀκυλίας τὰ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων γράμματα καλούντων με.

[4] Galen., *De lib. prop.*, c. 2 [v. 19, p. 18]: Ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς μόλις ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ διασωθῆναι, πλείστων ἀπολλυμένων οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸν λοιμὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ διὰ μέσου χειμῶνος εἶναι τὰ πραττόμενα.

[5] Galen., *De lib. prop.*, c. 2 [v. 19, p. 18]: Προῄρηντο γὰρ αὐτοὶ χειμάσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς ἐξελαύνειν.

[6] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 14: *Placuit autem urgente Lucio ut praemissis ad senatum litteris Lucius Romam rediret.*

[7] Galen puts it that they fled from the disease. Galen., *De lib. prop.*, c. 2 [v. 19, p. 18]: Ὥστε τοὺς μὲν αὐτοκράτορας αὐτίκα φεύγειν εἰς Ῥώμην ἅμα στρατιώταις ὀλίγοις.

[8] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 9: *Sed non longe ab Altino subito in uehiculo morbo apoplexin uocant correptus Lucius, depositus e uehiculo, detracto sanguine Altinum perductus, cum triduo mutus uixisset apud Altinum periit.* See also Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 14; Eutropius, *Breuiar. hist. Roman.*, lib. 8, c. 10; Orosius, *Hist. aduers. Pagan.*, lib. 7, c. 15, § 3; Victor, *Epit. de Caes.*, c. 16, § 5; and Victor, *De Caes.*, c. 16, § 8.

and the 23d of February, 169.[1] Marcus at once conveyed his brother's body to Rome,[2] and placed it by the side of his father in Hadrian's splendid mausoleum.[3] The senate thereupon raised the deceased Emperor to a place among the gods, in recognition of his services to the state during the troubles in the East; and Marcus, in a funeral oration, delivered in the senate, thanked that body for the honor thus conferred upon his brother, although, in private, he acknowledged that he was himself the main author of the projects carried out in the Parthian war.[4] Moreover, he now resigned the titles *Armeniacus* and *Parthicus*, which he had before been reluctant to accept, thinking it right that Lucius alone should be known to posterity by the titles won in the war in which he was, at any rate, the nominal commander.[5]

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[1] That the death of Lucius did not occur till after the 1st of January, 169, is proved by the fact that some of the coins of that year bear his name. Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 94–5. Nor could it have been so late as the 23d of February, 169; for a law of that date in the *Codex* bears the name of Marcus alone. Iustinian., *Cod.*, lib. 6, tit. 27, c. 1: *Imp. Antoninus A. Aufidio et aliis. — Accepta VII. kal. Mart. Prisco et Apollinare conss.*

[2] Galen., *De lib. prop.*, c. 2 [v. 19, p. 18]: Μεταστάντος δ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τοῦ Λουκίου κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν, εἰς Ῥώμην αὐτοῦ κομίσας τὸ σῶμα τὴν ἀποθέωσιν Ἀντωνῖνος ἐποιήσατο; and Galen., *De praenot.*, c. 9 [v. 14, p. 650]: Ἀλλὰ τοῦ Λευκίου κατὰ μέσον τοῦ χειμῶνος μεταστάντος εἰς θεοὺς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ κομίσας εἰς Ῥώμην τὸ σῶμα.

[3] Capit., *Ver. Imp.*, c. 11: *Inlatumque corpus eius est Hadriani sepulchro in quo et Caesar pater eius naturalis sepultus est.*

[4] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 20: *Dein cum gratias ageret senatui quod fratrem consecrasset, occulte ostendit omnia bellica consilia sua fuisse quibus superati sunt Parthi.*

[5] This appears from the coins of Marcus issued subsequently to his brother's death, none of which bear the titles conferred in honor of the Eastern conquests. Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 57 and 95; and Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 169. Capitolinus also says that after the death of Lucius the Emperor allowed himself to be called only Germanicus. Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 12: *Post mortem Lucii tantum Germanicum se uocaret, quod sibi bello proprio pepererat.* And, as Marcus had not yet acquired the title of *Germanicus*, his coins cease for the present to bear any title of conquest whatever.

Chapter V.

THE WAR WITH THE MARCOMANNI (SECOND PERIOD).—THE JOURNEY TO THE EAST. A.D. 169-178.

Reflections of Marcus on his Brother's Death.—Domestic Relations.—Marcus Returns to the North.—Forces of the Barbarians.—Imperial Forces.—Policy of the Emperor.—Methods of German Warfare.—Success over the Iazyges.—Defeat of the Marcomanni.—Engagement with the Quadi and "Miraculous Victory."—Second Victory over the Iazyges.—Revolt of Avidius Cassius.—The Emperor Sends to Rome for Commodus and Draws up Treaties with the German Tribes.—Cassius is Killed by his own Soldiers.—Marcus Journeys to the East.—Death of Faustina.—Marcus Returns to Rome.—Triumph.—Promotion of Commodus.—General Prosperity.

It is difficult to believe that the feeling which Marcus experienced at the death of Lucius was entirely one of grief. From the very beginning of his reign the association of Lucius in the empire had been a continual source of annoyance to himself and of misfortune to his subjects. His brother's faults were as well known to him as to everybody else; and they caused him great displeasure. But what power had he to prevent them? The obligation to Hadrian by which he had been influenced in raising Lucius to the throne acted with equal force as an argument against removing him. And as for making his brother's weaknesses known in public, that would have done more harm than good. The Emperor had, therefore, deemed it wise to keep his colleague's faults as secret as possible; and in some cases had even sought to palliate them before the people.[1] Up to the very last he had never forgotten the honor to which Lucius was entitled as Emperor

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 15: *Tantae autem sanctitatis fuit Marcus ut Veri uitia et celauerit et defenderit, cum ei uehementissime displicerent.*

of Rome. After his death he had taken care to have him enrolled among the gods; and had, moreover, settled bountiful annuities upon his aunts and sisters.[1] In short, he had every reason to feel well satisfied with the performance of his obligation. Now, however, that Lucius was removed by death, a heavy burden was lifted from his shoulders. The good influence which he had ever sought to exert upon his subjects was no longer counteracted by the vices of his colleague. A new incentive to virtue forced itself upon the Emperor. He felt, as all noble souls must feel, that the past had not brought forth all that might have been expected of it. He reflected upon the rapidity with which his reign was wearing away; and in a moment of self-denunciation exclaimed, "Short is the little which remains to thee of life. Live as on a mountain. For it makes no difference whether a man lives there or here, if he lives everywhere in the world as in a state. Let men see, let them know, a real man who lives according to nature. If they cannot endure him, let them kill him. For that is better than to live thus."[2]

In the interval which followed after the death of Lucius

Verus several changes occurred in the family of Marcus. He had at this time the three daughters, Annia Lucilla, Fadilla,

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 15: *Mortuumque eum diuum appellauerit amittusque eius et sorores honoribus et salariis decretis subleuauerit atque prouexerit sacrisque eum plurimis honorauerit.*

[2] *Thoughts*, lib. 10, c. 15.

and Cornificia, of whom we have already spoken, together with a little girl of four, named Vibia Aurelia Sabina;[1] and his sons were Commodus and Annius Verus.[2] The eldest daughter, Lucilla, who had been married to Lucius Verus, did

not long remain a widow after her first husband's death. The haste with which Marcus acted in this matter can be explained in several ways. It is by no means impossible that his own experience with his wife had convinced him that the moral welfare of his daughter, who was still a young woman, would be promoted if she were united to some man of character. Besides, there was at this time in Rome a man of sterling qualities whom Marcus had already promoted from one office to another, and who had discharged his various duties with such fidelity that the Emperor was anxious to reward

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[1] This must be the three-year-old daughter whom Marcus had with him in Pannonia during that period of the Marcomannic war in which Lucius was yet alive, 168 or 169. Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.*, lib. 2, c. 1, § 11: *Φιλανθρώπως δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχειν αὐτός τε ἑαυτὸν ἐπεπείκει καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ ἐπέπειστο καὶ τῷ θυγατρίῳ ψελλιζομένῳ ἔτι. . . . Γυναικί με καὶ τριετεῖ παιδίῳ καταχαριζόμενος.* This Vibia Aurelia Sabina is mentioned as a daughter of Marcus Aurelius in an inscription in Gruter, p. 252, *no.* 8; and in Orelli, *no.* 869. She seems to be identified with the three-year-old daughter of whom Philostratus speaks, by the fact that she was not born till near the close of Marcus's married life; this is proved by two inscriptions in C. A. L. Renier, *Inscriptions romaines de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1855. f°. *nos.* 2718–9, where we learn that Vibia was still alive during the reign of Caracalla.

[2] As we have already seen, Antoninus, the twin-brother of Commodus, died in 165.

him with a still higher honor.[1] These were the chief reasons which induced Marcus, before setting out for the second German war, to marry Lucilla to Tiberius Claudius Pompeianus.[2] This marriage pleased neither Lucilla nor her mother. It appears that the father of Pompeianus had been merely a Roman knight, born of a somewhat obscure family at Antioch; and Faustina, like a true *parvenu*, was greatly averse to marrying her daughter to any one who could not boast of a long line of ancestry.[3] The Emperor's will prevailed, however, and Lucilla obtained a husband who was destined to add much to the lustre of the imperial family. It was, probably, about the same time that Fadilla, the second daughter, was married to Claudius Severus, the son of Marcus's old preceptor.[4] Thus

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[1] Pompeianus is first mentioned in history in a diploma which informs us that at the beginning of May, 167, he was the Roman legate in Lower Pannonia. Cardinali, *Dipl. imp.*, tav. 23; and Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 5, p. 436. He must, therefore, have been at that time of consular rank; and from a passage in Herodian, where it is stated that Marcus married his daughters to the most worthy men of the senate, it seems probable that Pompeianus was at the time of his marriage a senator. Herodian., *Hist.*, lib. 1, c. 2: Θυγατέρας ἐν ὥρᾳ γενομένας ἐξέδοτο ἀνδράσι τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τοῖς ἀρίστοις.

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 20: *Proficiscens ad bellum Germanicum filiam suam non decurso luctus tempore grandaeuo equitis Romani filio Claudio Pompeiano dedit;* and Herodian., lib. 1, c. 8: Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ συνέβη τὸν Λούκιον τελευτῆσαι, μενόντων τῇ Λουκίλλῃ τῶν τῆς βασιλείας συμβόλων Πομπηϊανῷ ὁ πατὴρ ἐξέδοτο αὐτήν.

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 20: *Sed has nuptias et Faustina et ipsa quae dabatur inuitae habuerunt.* The reason for this aversion is stated in the sentence immediately preceding: *Genere Antiochensi non satis nobili.*

[4] With the exception of Pompeianus, who married Lucilla, we are not distinctly informed by the contemporary writers who the respective husbands of the other three daughters were. The names of the husbands, however, were Claudius Severus, Petronius Mamertinus, and Antistius Burrus, as appears from the following passages: Lampridius, *Commod. Ant.*, c. 6: *Byrrum sororis Commodi uirum;* Lamprid., *Commod. Ant.*, c. 7: *Filiumque Mamertini Antoninum, ex sorore sua* [*Commodi*] *genitum;* and Dion Cassius, lib. 79, c. 5: [*Annia Faustina*] τοῦ τε γὰρ Σεβήρου Κλαυδίου, καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Μάρκου ἀπόγονος ἦν. Which of the daughters was assigned to each of the men is not stated, so that we are left to conjectures on this subject. It was suggested by Reimarus that it might

Marcus entered into a fraternal relation with that Stoic philosopher, of whom he says, "From my brother Severus I learned to love my kin, and to love truth, and to love justice; and through him I was taught to know Thrasea, Helvidius, Cato, Dion, Brutus."[1] The third daughter, Cornificia, can scarcely have been at this time, 169, more than fifteen years of age, so that her marriage probably did not take place till somewhat later. But it seems not unlikely that she was betrothed while her father was yet in Rome after the death of Lucius. In this case, again, the Emperor aimed at sterling qualities rather than wealth or ancestry;[2] and selected for his

be well to regard Antistius Burrus as the husband of Fadilla, assigning Cornificia to Petronius Mamertinus, and interpreting the passage quoted above from Herodian to mean that Annia Faustina was the granddaughter of Marcus through his daughter Lucilla, and the granddaughter of Claudius Severus through his son Claudius Pompeianus. See the note of Reimarus in his edition of Dion Cassius, lib. 79, c. 5. But Borghesi, in his *Œuvres*, v. 5, p. 429, has compared the passage cited with an inscription given in Berlin. Akad. der Wiss. *Corp. inscr. Graec.*, *no.* 4154, which he deciphers so as to read ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝ ΣΕΒΗΡΟΝ ΔΙΣ ΥΠΑΤΟΝ ΠΟΝΤΙΦΙΚΑ ΓΑΜΒΡΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ Μ·ΑΥΡΕΛΙΟΥ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ; and from this argues with much cogency that Annia Faustina was the granddaughter of Claudius Severus and Marcus Antoninus, in that Claudius Severus's son, also named Claudius Severus, married a daughter of Marcus Aurelius. This being so, the question arises which of the daughters Claudius Severus married. If we agree with the supposition of Reimarus, stated above, that Fadilla married Burrus, and Cornificia married Mamertinus, there is no alternative but to assign to Claudius Severus the other daughter, Vibia. This, however, seems scarcely likely. For, as Borghesi demonstrates in his *Œuvres*, v. 5, pp. 430–4, Severus was the eldest of all the sons-in-law, and Vibia was the youngest of all the daughters. A still more conclusive argument against regarding Vibia as the wife of Severus is that Vibia, having been born in 166, could not have been married until after the death of Marcus; whereas it appears that Claudius Severus had come into the family several years before that event; for in the very first book of his *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 14, Marcus speaks of Severus as his brother. Since, therefore, Vibia cannot have been the wife of Severus, it seems reasonable to assign to him, being the eldest of the sons-in-law, the eldest undisposed-of daughter, which was Fadilla. In this case, Vibia would naturally fall to Burrus, and Cornificia would be, according to the generally accepted belief, the wife of Petronius Mamertinus.

[1] *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 14.

[2] Herodian., *Hist.*, lib. 1, c. 2: *Οὐ τοὺς γένους μακραῖς διαδοχαῖς εὐπατρίδας*,

daughter a young man named Petronius Mamertinus.[1] Before departing for the second German war Marcus took great pains to provide fit masters for his little boys, whom he destined as his successors to the throne. Commodus, the elder, was just reaching an age when it was necessary to substitute regular instructors in place of the general preceptor, Pitholaus, who had attended to the children's welfare hitherto.[2] Annius Verus, however, was at this time only seven years old; and consequently was hardly prepared yet for the studies of a Roman youth. But both boys had gone through the first stage of their initiation into public life. When Lucius Verus returned from the Parthian war he had requested that Marcus's sons might receive the appellation of *Caesar*.[3] His desire had been gratified. On the 12th of October, 166, Commodus and Annius Verus were designated as the probable successors to the throne by being granted the title of *Caesares*.[4] But it

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οὐδὲ τοὺς πλούτου περιβολαῖς λαμπρούς, κοσμίους δὲ τὸν τρόπον καὶ σώφρονας τὸν βίον γαμβροὺς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι θέγων· ταῦτα γὰρ μόνα ψυχῆς ἴδια καὶ ἀναφαίρετα ἡγεῖτο κτήματα.

[1] See note 4, p. 178.

[2] Galen., *De praenot.*, c. 9 [v. 14, p. 650 of Kühn's ed.]: Ὁ *υἱὸς αὐτοῦ* Κόμμοδος, *ὑπὸ* Πειθολάῳ *τρεφόμενος.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 12: *Petiit praeterea Lucius ut filii Marci Caesares appellarentur.*

[4] Lampridius, *Commod. Ant.*, c. 11: *Nominatus inter Caesares quartum iduum Octobrium, quas Herculeas postea nominauit, Pudente et Pollione consulibus;* and Lamprid., *Commod. Ant.*, c. 1: *Appellatus est autem Caesar puer cum fratre Seuero.* This latter passage has caused a good deal of difficulty, as we have no other mention of a son of Marcus Aurelius named Severus. Casaubon, in a note to Lamprid., *Commod. Ant.*, c. 1, in his edition of the *Script. hist. Aug.*, thinks the reading should be *fratre Sex. Vero;* and the same view is taken by Gruter in his edition; whereas Saumaise, in his note to the same passage, prefers to read *fratre suo Vero.* The better opinion, however, seems to be that the reading in the text is correct; the forms Severus and Verus being often interchangeable, as in Galen., *Aduers. eos qui de typ. scrips.*, c. 1 [v. 7, p. 478 of Kühn's ed.], where we read that Severus, the successor of Antoninus Pius, called himself Antoninus upon ascending the throne, and his colleague Lucius he called Severus. Whether or not, however, the reading in the text is faulty, there can be no doubt that the two sons who were together nominated as *Caesares* were Commodus and Annius Verus. This is proved by a coin in

was not ordained that Commodus should have an associate on the throne. In the year 169, while Marcus was making preparations for the second German war, his little son Annius Verus, then but seven years old, died.[1] The blow was a severe one; but the Stoic Emperor, who never allowed his countenance to change in joy or grief,[2] would not let the public welfare suffer on account of his own private misfortunes. He mourned but five days for the loss of his little boy, and turned again to the sad duty of collecting forces for another war.[3]

Mediobarbus *Biragus*, *Imp. Roman. numism.*, p. 232; in Vaillant, *Numism.*, p. 62; and in Eckhel, v. 7, p. 83, on one side of which is the head of a young boy, with the inscription COMMODVS. CAES. ANTONINI. AVG. FIL., and on the reverse a still younger head, with the inscription ANNIVS. VERVS. CAES. ANTONINI. AVG. FIL.

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 21: *Sub ipsis profectionis diebus in secessu Praenestino agens filium nomine Verum Caesarem exacto sub aure tubere septennem amisit.* Herodian refers to the same event; but confuses the father's appellation with that of the son. Herodian., *Hist.*, lib. 1, c. 2: Τῶν δὲ ἀῤῥένων τούτων ὁ μὲν ἕτερος κομιδῇ νέος τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε· Βηρίσσιμος δ' ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ. It has been maintained by Casaubon, in a note to Lamprid., *Commod. Ant.*, c. 1, in his edition of the *Script. hist. Aug.*, that the sickness of Annius Verus is described in Galen., *De praenot.*, c. 10 [v. 14, p. 651 of Kühn's ed.], and Casaubon is thus furnished with an argument to prove that Annius Verus was also known by the name Sextus. This opinion is, however, erroneous: for, in the first place, we do not find a son of Marcus spoken of anywhere else by the name of Sextus; in the second place, in the case described by Galen no mention is made of the Emperor, which would certainly have been done if the sickness occurred, as Capitolinus says that of Annius Verus did, while Marcus was still in the vicinity of Rome; thirdly, Galen says nothing of the issue in this case, at which he was one of the physicians, but he certainly would have done so if it had resulted in death; and, lastly, Galen speaks of this Sextus as a son of Antoninus, and begins the chapter with the word οὖν, thereby connecting it with the end of the preceding chapter, where he has just stated that he is about to describe the sickness of a son of Quintilianus. In short, the Sextus of whom Galen speaks was not the son of the Emperor, but of one Antoninus Quintilianus.

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 16: *Erat enim ipse tantae tranquillitatis, ut vultum numquam mutauerit maerore uel gaudio.* See also Eutropius, *Breviar. hist. Roman.*, lib. 8, c. 11.

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 21: *Quem non plus quinque diebus luxit, consolatusque etiam medicos actibus publicis se reddidit.*

This was no easy task. Little more than two years before he had drained Rome of all her young men fit for service; and the plague was still raging among the people. The energy which the Emperor displayed in this emergency is truly marvellous. No person capable of bearing arms was able to escape his eye. Scarcely a citizen was left at home who was not absolutely needed to provide the people with the necessaries of life. He enlisted all the gladiators under his banners, thinking it wrong to sacrifice lives at Rome for amusement while the citizens in Pannonia were shedding their blood to save the state. The slaves, too, he instructed in the art of war. Moreover, by his orders the *diogmitae*, or light-armed troops who were kept on the frontiers for the pursuit of robbers, became now a portion of the regular army; and, lest danger might thereby result to the provinces, he made soldiers out of all the robbers whom he could secure. Further, whenever he could win a barbarian nation to his side, either by conquest or by persuasion, he joined its members with himself against the other tribes.[1] To accomplish this in the then existing condition of the treasury required a great sacrifice. Indeed, so straitened were the finances at the time that there was scarcely sufficient money in the treasury to furnish the regular pay to the soldiers. The Emperor, therefore, rather than impose a new tax on the provinces, offered at public sale in the Forum of Trajan his own personal treasures and all those insignia of the imperial dignity which were not absolutely needed for state ceremonies.[2] After the war was over he redeemed his goods from all who were willing to sell; but in no case did he compel the purchasers to return them.[3] Before starting he held out to the despondent soldiers the prospect of a reward; and, as an earnest of his intentions, a *donatiuum* was distributed to the army while

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 21: *Seruos, quem ad modum bello Punico factum fuerat, ad militiam parauit. quos uoluntarios exemplo uolonum appellauit. armauit etiam gladiatores. quos obsequentes appellauit. latrones etiam Dalmatiae atque Dardaniae milites fecit. armauit et diogmitas. emit et Germanorum auxilia contra Germanos.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 17 and 21; and Etropius, *Breuiar. hist. Roman.*, lib. 8, c. 13.

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 17.

yet in Rome.[1] That the dangers of the pestilence might be reduced to a minimum, and that all possible assistance might be furnished to the wounded, Marcus urged the physician Galen to accompany him; but Galen succeeded in excusing himself,[2] and the army marched without him, the Emperor giving orders that if Commodus, who was left at Rome under the care of his instructors, should at any time need medical advice, Galen was to be summoned at once.[3] The date of the departure was the autumn of 169;[4] and it appears that when the Emperor left the city he expected to return within a short time.[5]

In this hope Marcus was disappointed. The historians of his reign record that the Roman armies had never undergone a severer struggle than that to which they were exposed in the war with the Marcomanni.[6] In the short interval which had elapsed since the Emperor had last awed the barbarians by his presence, an unprecedented uprising had taken place among the tribes. The whole of Germany seemed to be in a state of violent commotion, ready to hurl itself upon the Roman frontier. As Capitolinus puts it, "Every nation, from Illyricum

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[1] This event is fixed to the year 169 by a coin which bears the inscription M. ANTONINVS. AVG. TR. P. XXIII.; reverse: LIBERAL. AVG. V. COS. III. Eckhel, v. 7, p. 57.

[2] Galen., *De praenot.*, c. 9 [v. 14, p. 650 of Kühn's ed.]: *Τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς ὁδοιπορίας εἴχετο κελεύων ἕπεσθαι κἀμέ. χρηστὸν δ' ὄντα καὶ φιλάνθρωπον αὐτὸν ἐδυνήθην, ὡς οἶσθα, πεῖσαι καταλιπεῖν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ με.*

[3] Galen., *De praenot.*, c. 9 [v. 14, p. 650]: *Κόμμοδος, ὑπὸ Πειθολάῳ τρεφόμενος ἐντολὰς ἔχοντι παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνίνου, καλεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπὶ παιδὸς, εἰ νοσήσειέ ποτε.*

[4] The date of the departure is proved to be 169 by a coin bearing the inscription M. ANTONINVS. AVG. TR. P. XXIII.; reverse: PROFECTIO. AVG. COS. IIII. S. C. Eckhel, v. 7, p. 58. From a passage in Galen it would appear that the Emperor's stay in Rome was no longer than was absolutely necessary to pay the final honors to his brother. Galen., *De praenot.*, c. 9 [v. 14, p. 650]: *Ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ κομίσας εἰς Ῥώμην τὸ σῶμα καὶ ποιήσας ἀμφ' αὐτῷ τὰ νομιζόμενα, τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς ὁδοιπορίας εἴχετο.*

[5] Galen., *De praenot.*, c. 9 [v. 14, p. 650]: *Καὶ γὰρ διὰ ταχέων ἐπανήξειν.*

[6] Eutropius, *Breuiar. hist. Roman.*, lib. 8, c. 12: *Bellum ipse unum gessit Marcomannicum: sed quantum nulla memoria fuit, adeo ut Punicis conferatur.*

even into Gaul, joined in the conspiracy."[1] The two most powerful tribes in this war were undoubtedly the Quadi and the Marcomanni.[2] The latter had been a nation so long before as the time of Cæsar;[3] and their place of settlement corresponds very nearly to what we now know as Bohemia. East of the Marcomanni, in the present country of Moravia, dwelt the Quadi, a tribe mentioned by Tacitus,[4] and spoken of by a writer of the fourth century as "a nation now [i. e., in the times of Theodosius] not very formidable, but one which formerly enjoyed vast renown for its warlike genius and power."[5] These two tribes together form the central feature in the Marcomannic war. But they were by no means alone. On every side, except the south, they were supported by sympathizing brethren. Their chief allies were the Sarmatæ, the Vandali, and the Iazyges.[6] Of these the Sarmatæ were, properly speaking, chiefly of Asiatic origin. It was presumably, however, only the more southwestern branch of them, known as the Iazyges, that were engaged in this war. The Vandali, who, when first heard of, were settled along the shore of the Baltic Sea, had by this time pressed so far south as to be contiguous to the Marcomanni on the north, inhabiting the mountain regions, which were called, after them, the *Vandalici Montes*. In addition to these tribes, the Marcomanni were

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 22: *Gentes omnes ab Illyrici usque in Galliam conspirauerant.*

[2] These two tribes are found in the list of nearly every writer. See Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 22; Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 8, 11, and 20; Eutropius, *Breuiar. hist. Roman.*, lib. 8, c. 13; Orosius, *Hist. aduers. Pagan.*, lib. 7, c. 15, § 8; and Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, lib. 12, c. 2.

[3] C. Iulius Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, lib. 1, c. 51.

[4] C. Cornelius Tacitus, *Annal.*, lib. 2, c. 63; and *German.*, c. 42–3.

[5] Ammian. Marcellin., *Rer. gest.*, lib. 29, c. 6, § 1: *Parum nunc formidanda, sed immensum quantum antehac bellatrix et potens.*

[6] The Sarmatæ and Vandali are mentioned in the lists in Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 22; in Eutropius, *Breuiar. hist. Roman.*, lib. 8, c. 13; and in Orosius, *Hist. aduers. Pagan.*, lib. 7, c. 15, § 8. Dion Cassius says nothing of either of these tribes, but treats a great deal of the Iazyges, a people who, in fact, were a portion of the Sarmatæ, and are always spoken of by Tacitus as Sarmatæ Iazyges. Tacit., *Annal.*, lib. 12, c. 29, and *Hist.*, lib. 3, c. 5.

aided on the west by the Varistæ, the Hermunduri, and the Suevi; on the north by the Lacringes and the Buri; and on the east by the Victuali, the Osi, the Bessi, the Cobotes, the Roxolani, the Basternæ, the Alani, and the Peucini.[1] Besides all these there were the Costoboci, a tribe who had already been admitted to a seat in the province of Dacia, and whom Pausanias, a contemporary writer, characterizes as a band of robbers that carried on their depredations as far south as the town of Elatea.[2] The bond which united these numerous enemies of Rome was far from strong. True, Capitolinus asserts that they had all "conspired together;"[3] but, from the issue of the first Marcomannic war, we know that it was not impossible to dissolve their conspiracy. Each tribe sought its own interests, and cared little about the welfare of the others. This fact, with a knowledge of the particular needs of the German peoples at the time, will furnish us with a key to the methods of warfare pursued by Marcus throughout his reign. On departing for the second Marcomannic war he directed his forces again towards the province of Pannonia, which he used later as the base of all his warlike operations.[4] Pannonia, in reality, consisted of two provinces, separated by an arbitrary line running north and south, the portion to the east of the line being known as Pannonia Inferior, and that to the west as Pannonia Superior. The administration of Pannonia Superior had been for some time in the hands of consular legates; but, until the reign of Marcus Aurelius, Pannonia Inferior had always been intrusted to persons of merely

[1] The names of these tribes are given in Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 22. For the positions which they occupied, and their general character, see Wilhelm Jacobi, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der deutschen Urgeschichte* [in the *Jahresbericht über das kurfürstliche Gymnasium zu Hersfeld*, Hersfeld, 1851. 4°. pp. 1–32]; *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, Leipz., 1853. 8°. v. 9, pp. 131,–8, *Zwei Stellen des Scriptores historiae Augustae*, von K. Müllenhoff; Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, v. 1; and Wietersheim, *Gesch. der Völkerwand.*, v. 1, pp. 131–3.

[2] Pausanias, *Descript. Graec.*, lib. 10, c. 34, § 5: Τὸ δὲ Κοστοβώκων τε τῶν λῃστικῶν τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπιδραμὸν ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλάτειαν.

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 22: *Conspirauerant.*

[4] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 3: Τὴν Παννονίαν ἔχων ὁρμητήριον, ἐπολέμησεν.

prætorian rank. Now, however, owing to the incursions of the barbarians, this part of the Empire began to take such a prominent place in history that the Emperor raised Pannonia Inferior to the dignity of a consular province.[1] This was not the only change that Marcus introduced in the administration of the provinces. He lived at a time when new forces were making themselves felt in the state, and, as a consequence, new methods of administration were needed. Marcus Aurelius was the first emperor to perceive the necessity of guarding his northern boundaries, not only by stronger lines of fortification, but also by a minute and personal attention to the politics of that region. Foreseeing that, sooner or later, the barbarians must be allowed to settle in the Empire, he sought not so much to drive back the invaders by force of arms, as to strengthen the provinces against injury at their hands. With this in view, he did not hesitate to make a number of changes in the constitution of the provinces.[2] What he had done for Pannonia Inferior he did also for the province of Dacia; and the wisdom of this measure is evidenced by the fact that after the reign of Marcus Aurelius we hear of none but consular legates administering in Dacia.[3] A similar change he made in Rhætia, which had been previously governed by a simple *procurator;* during the reign of Marcus, and afterwards, until the time of Diocletian, it was governed by the commander of the legion stationed there.[4]

With regard to the forces which Marcus had under his command during this war the historians of the time tell us almost nothing. We are enabled, however, by the aid of inscriptions, to form a tolerably accurate estimate of their strength. There can be no doubt that the Roman army stationed at this time

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[1] Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, v. 1, p. 138.

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 22: *Prouincias ex proconsularibus consulares aut ex consularibus proconsulares aut praetorias pro belli necessitate fecit.*

[3] Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, v. 1, p. 154; and Berlin. Akad. der Wiss., *Corp. insc. Latin.*, v. 3, *nos.* 823, 826–7, and 1092.

[4] Dion Cassius, lib. 55, c. 24; Orelli, *no.* 1943; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, v. 1, p. 135; and Berlin. Akad. der Wiss., *Corp. insc. Latin.*, v. 3, *nos.* 993, 1017, 5793, and 5874.

along the northern boundaries was far greater than that commanded by Lucius Verus in the Parthian war. Even when the demand for soldiers in other parts of the Empire was greatest, a liberal supply of men had always been left to guard the northern frontier. The repeated inroads of plundering barbarians from the North necessitated an ever-increasing watchfulness on the part of Roman emperors. And it seems likely that the number of legions regularly stationed in Rhætia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Dacia was never greater than at the breaking-out of the Marcomannic war. To this body an important addition was made by the withdrawal of the troops from Syria after their victory over Vologeses. So that when the Emperor returned to Pannonia, after the death of Lucius, he was in command of an army numbering sixteen legions at the least. These legions were, apparently, the 1st, called *Italica*;[1] the 1st, called *Adiutrix*;[2] the 1st, called *Mineruia*;[3] the 2d, called *Adiutrix*;[4] the 4th, called *Flauia Felix*;[5] the 5th, called *Macedonica*;[6] the 8th, called *Augusta*;[7] the 10th, called

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[1] This was the one which Nero had stationed in Mœsia Inferior. Dion Cassius, lib. 55, c. 24.

[2] Instituted by Galba, and placed by him in Pannonia Inferior. Dion Cassius, lib. 55, c. 24; and Gruter, p. 381, *no.* 1.

[3] Stationed by Domitian in Germania Inferior. Dion Cassius, lib. 55, c. 24. This was one of the legions which had been sent to the Parthian war; but that it had returned by this time is proved by numerous inscriptions in J. W. C. Steiner, *Codex inscriptionum Romanarum Rheni.* Darmstadt, 1837. 2 Theile. 8°. *nos.* 619, 723, 768, 781, 785–6, 788, 880, 962, and 964.

[4] Placed by Vespasian in Pannonia Inferior. Dion Cassius, lib. 55, c. 24; and Orelli, *nos.* 1234, 1645, and 1921.

[5] Muratori, *Nouus thesaur. uet. insc.*, p. 730, *no.* 1; and Steiner, *Cod. insc. Roman. Rhen.*, *no.* 177. This must have been one of those brought from Syria, where, according to Dion Cassius, lib. 55, c. 24, it had been stationed by Vespasian.

[6] According to Dion Cassius, lib. 55, c. 23, belonging in Dacia. But it had also been engaged in Mœsia Inferior. Gruter, p. 481, *no.* 1, and p. 490, *no.* 2.

[7] *Würtembergische Jahrbücher*, 1835, v. 1, pp. 15, 39, 43, 46, 48, 50, 54, and 93; and Steiner, *Cod. insc. Roman. Rhen.*, *nos.* 19, 27, 65, 86, 91, 125, 153, 165, 247, 254, 272, 317, 339, 375, 386, 613, 627, and 754. This legion

Gemina;[1] the 11th, called *Claudia*;[2] the 12th, called *Fulminata*;[3] the 13th, called, like the 10th, *Gemina*;[4] the 14th, called *Gemina Martia Victrix*;[5] the 22d, called *Primigenia*;[6] the 30th, called *Ulpia Victrix*;[7] and two others established by Marcus himself, viz., the 2d and 3d, to both of which the name *Italica* was given, probably because they were levied in Italy and accompanied Marcus to the North. One of these, the 3d *Italica*, he levied for the needs of Rhætia; the other, called the 2d *Italica*, he stationed in Noricum.[8] Assuming that these sixteen legions contained on an average 5000 men each, we shall have as a total an armed force of 80,000 soldiers. To this number must be added nearly as many more auxiliaries, making in all about 150,000 men.[9]

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received during the reign of Marcus Aurelius the names *Pia*, *Fidelis*, *Constans*, and *Commoda*. Fabretti, *Insc. antiq.*, p. 665, *no.* 517.

[1] This legion was in Pannonia Superior in the time of Antoninus Pius. Ptolemaeus, *Geographia*, lib. 2, c. 15. And was still there in the time of Septimius Severus. Gruter, p. 22, *no.* 7, and p. 74, *no.* 6.

[2] Belonging, according to Dion Cassius, lib. 55, c. 23, in Mœsia Inferior.

[3] This legion had its proper seat in Cappadocia. So we are told by Dion Cassius, lib. 55, c. 23, who calls it *Fulminifera*. That it was engaged in this war will appear farther on.

[4] Stationed by Trajan in Dacia. Dion Cassius, lib. 55, c. 23; and Gruter, p. 429, *no.* 1.

[5] In Pannonia Superior. Dion Cassius, lib. 55, c. 23; F. S. Maffei, *Museum Veronense h. e. antiquarum inscriptionum atque anaglyphorum collectio.* Veronae, 1749. f°. p. 113, *no.* 2; and Gruter, p. 1029, *no.* 1.

[6] Its headquarters were at Maintz. Steiner, *Cod. insc. Roman. Rhen.*, *nos.* 408–32.

[7] Stationed along the banks of the Rhine. Steiner, *Cod. insc. Roman. Rhen.*, *nos.* 222, 591, 609, 636, 638–9, 650–1, 654, 661, 665, 667, 669, 674–6, 678, 694, 709, 729, 749, 794, 861, 881–2, 902, and 943.

[8] Dion Cassius, lib. 55, c. 24: *Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ Μάρκος τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τὸ ἐν Νωρικῷ, καὶ τὸ τρίτον τὸ ἐν Ῥαιτίᾳ, ἃ καὶ Ἰταλικὰ κέκληται.*

[9] While I must acknowledge my obligations to Noël des Vergers for this entire description of the army under Marcus Aurelius, I cannot agree with him in his estimate of the number of troops engaged. He places the number of regular soldiers at nearly 100,000. See his *Essai sur Marc-Aurèle*, p. 82. To obtain this result it is necessary to reckon 6000 men to each legion. Now, though under the Antonines this was, no doubt, the regular number, it is impossible to believe that so soon after the Parthian

With this force at his command the Emperor reached Pannonia about the beginning of the year 170. The campaign on which he was now entering proved the most active period of the whole Marcomannic war. The distinctly aggressive attitude noticeable everywhere among the German tribes made it impossible for the Emperor to employ the conciliatory measures which, under other circumstances, he would have preferred. There was no course open to him but to repel the invaders by force of arms. The energy and success with which Marcus Aurelius adopted this warlike policy, so contrary to all the instincts of his nature, is an irrefutable answer to those who maintain that a life guided by philosophic principles cannot cope with the practical requirements of this world. Not only is the general policy of the Marcomannic war to be attributed to the Emperor; he took part personally in the various campaigns of his armies in the hostile country.[1] With matters of a purely military nature, however, he did not interfere, since he had but little knowledge of the subject. He used to say, "It is more just that I should follow the advice of all these valuable friends about me than that they

war, and especially at the very height of the plague, the legions were by any means full; and, though they may afterwards have recuperated somewhat, still, the Marcomannic war was too bloody to admit of their filling their ranks so long as it continued. It is more reasonable to estimate the legions at 5000 men each. As to the auxiliaries, their number was doubtless large. We have already mentioned the success of the Emperor in enlisting some of the barbarian tribes against the others. Such contingents as these it would be quite contrary to the Roman practice to enroll along with the imperial soldiers in the regular legions. They would go to swell the number of the auxiliary forces, which, at their highest point, amounted to nearly as many men as were contained in the legions themselves. If, therefore, we assume the sixteen legions to represent 80,000 men, it is not unreasonable to suppose the auxiliaries would carry the number up to about 150,000.

[1] This appears from a coin of 172, on which the Emperor is to be seen crossing the Danube on a bridge of boats, along with his army. Eckhel, v. 7, p. 60.

should all follow my will."[1] Among these generals whom he so warmly praises the foremost place was occupied, of course, by the *praefecti praetorio*, who, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, were two in number.[2] The post made vacant by the death of Furius Victorinus, of whom we have already spoken, was at once filled by his successor; and at the time of the second German war the *praefecti praetorio* were Macrinus Vindex and Bassæus Rufus.[3] Besides these, there were two other generals in whom the Emperor placed especial confidence, and by whom, as we shall see hereafter, he was greatly aided in the Marcomannic war. These were Claudius Pompeianus, the husband of Lucilla, and Pertinax, who succeeded Commodus on the throne. It is noteworthy that not one of these able servants was distinguished by wealth or ancestry. Such recommendations went for little in winning the favor of the Emperor.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to state with certainty the precise order in which the events of this war occurred. It is clear, however, from the language used by Dion Cassius, that the Marcomanni and Iazyges first engrossed the Emperor's attention.[4] Apparently, his success was for a long time doubtful; for we do not find that he was granted the title of *Imperator* at all during the first year of this period. The campaign was marked by several important battles, one of which took place in 170, and is described on a coin of that year.[5]

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[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 22: "*Aequius est ut ego tot talium amicorum consilium sequar, quam ut tot tales amici meam unius uoluntatem sequantur.*"

[2] That there was more than one *praefectus praetorio* under Marcus appears from Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 22: *Ducentibus etiam exercitum legatis et praefectis praetorio.* This had grown to be the custom some time before the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Dion Cassius, lib. 67, c. 15. Under Hadrian there were two. Spartianus, *Hadr.*, c. 9. Marcus Aurelius's successor had three. Lampridius, *Commod. Ant.*, c. 6.

[3] Macrinus Vindex is spoken of as *praefectus praetorio* in Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 3; and Bassæus Rufus in Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 5. See also an inscription in Gruter, p. 513, *no.* 1.

[4] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 8: Μαρκομάνους μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἰάζυγας πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι καὶ κινδύνοις Μάρκος ὑπέταξεν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους Κουάδους καὶ πόλεμος αὐτῷ συνέστη μέγας.

[5] Eckhel, v. 7, p. 58.

This was soon followed by another success, which won for Marcus, in the year 171, the title of *Imperator VI.*[1] Although the Romans were victorious in these encounters, it was only at the cost of a large number of their own men. A contest with the savage tribes of Germany was, under any circumstances, a serious affair. Brought up in a life of predatory wandering, and with little that was attractive in their homes, they learned to battle with all the energy of their nature. Their method of warfare is thus described by Ripault: "The Germans fight in the same way that they live, by families, the relatives all in line together, the young around their chief. The women, behind the ranks, cheer on their husbands and sons by promising them their love, and by portraying, in their shouts, the terrors of slavery and the infamy of surrender. The children, stationed between the men and women, carry to their fathers food and arms, and bring back to their mothers the fathers' words of courage. All fight in one way or another. Frenzy, combined with the love of liberty and honor, enables them to face any danger. It is infamy to abandon one's shield, and still more disgraceful to be taken; so that he who redeems his liberty by suicide covers himself with glory. As they join battle they begin to sing; and when the conflict has once begun, their songs are superseded by their shouts of rage. If they flee, their wives repel them from the camp and drive them back to meet the enemy's sword. The infantry forms a compact mass; and the battle-axe, which they wield as an axe or hurl as a javelin, is a formidable weapon even to the heavy-armed soldier. Their individual courage is indomitable. Were it not for their ignorance of tactics, they would be sure of victory."[2]

With the Iazyges it appears that a number of battles were fought during this year, 170.[3] "The Romans conquered the Iazyges, first on land and then on water. I do not mean there was a naval battle, but that, the river being frozen, the Romans

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[1] Eckhel, v. 7, p. 59.

[2] Ripault, *Marc-Aurèle*, v. 2, pp. 38–9.

[3] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 8: *Μαρκομάνους μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἰάζυγας πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι καὶ κινδύνοις Μάρκος ὑπέταξεν.*

pursued the enemy and fought them on the ice as if on land. For the Iazyges, seeing the Romans still in pursuit, turned around, when they reached the river, and renewed the combat, expecting an easy victory, since the Romans were utterly unskilled in fighting on the ice. Their own horses being used to this sort of warfare, the barbarians surrounded their opponents and attacked them front and rear. The Romans, however, kept good order, and presented an unbroken line in all directions. Several of them placed their shields on the ice, in order to have something solid against which to brace themselves. In this way they withstood the first shock; and afterwards they seized the bridles of their opponents' horses, or grasped the shields of the barbarians, or caught hold of the axes in their hands; so that, getting intermingled with them, they overturned both men and horses. For the enemy could not resist the shock in a place so slippery without being at once thrown down. Many of our men fell too; but if they found themselves on their backs, they caught hold of their opponents' legs and upset them, as in the athletic contests; and if they fell on their faces, they carried down the others beneath them. So that in every way our men had the advantage, since the barbarians were utterly unskilled in these methods of combat; and, besides, the enemy were almost all light-armed, and were thus unable to withstand our men, so that few of them escaped."[1] The success which the Emperor thus gained at the close of 170, though not final, at any rate so disabled the Iazyges that they withdrew to their own territories for a time.[2]

Marcus was now free, therefore, to give more attention to the Marcomanni. Although few details are recorded of the events which followed, it is clear, from the name by which the war is designated, that the Romans, during this period, encountered their most powerful opponents. The campaign was

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 7.

[2] In Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 8, we read that he "subdued" the Marcomanni and Iazyges before he turned to the Quadi; but this can only mean a temporary subjection, for the title of *Sarmaticus* was not conferred on Marcus till 175.

marked by a series of bloody battles,[1] and lasted until the summer of 172. At length the Marcomanni began to lose ground. One battle after another resulted disastrously to the barbarians, until at last they were forced to sue for peace. Whereupon the senate voted the title of *Germanicus* to the Emperor; but he was unwilling to appropriate the title to himself alone, and on the 15th of October, 172, it was conferred on Commodus also.[2] A great part of this success was due to the zeal of Macrinus Vindex, one of the *praefecti praetorio*. This brave soldier, who, during the Marcomannic war, was in command of the Roman cavalry, led an attack upon six thousand of the barbarians who had forced their way across the Danube. The enemy were routed, and, as a consequence, Ballomarius, the king of the Marcomanni, and ten other ambassadors chosen by the allied tribes, were despatched to Pannonia to sue for peace.[3] But Macrinus Vindex had fallen in the encounter; whereupon the senate, at the suggestion of the Emperor, erected three statues in honor of his bravery.[4] Vindex was probably succeeded in his position of *praefectus praetorio* by T.

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[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 8: Πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι.

[2] Lampridius, *Commod. Ant.*, c. 11: *Appellatus Germanicus idibus Herculeis Maximo et Orfito consulibus.* See also Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 59 and 103.

[3] Petrus *Patricius*, *Historiae*, c. 6: Ὅτι Λαγγιβάρδων καὶ Ὀβίων ἑξακισχιλίων Ἴστρον περαιωθέντων, τῶν περὶ Βίνδικα ἱππέων ἐξελασάντων καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Κάνδιδον πεζῶν ἐπιφθασάντων, εἰς παντελῆ φυγὴν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτράποντο. ἐφ' οἷς οὕτω πραχθεῖσιν ἐν δέει καταστάντες ἐκ πρώτης ἐπιχειρήσεως οἱ βάρβαροι, πρέσβεις παρὰ Αἴλιον Βάσσον τὴν Παιονίαν διέποντα στέλλουσι, Βαλλομάριόν τε τὸν βασιλέα Μαρκομάννων καὶ ἑτέρους δέκα, κατὰ ἔθνος ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἕνα. καὶ ὅρκοις τὴν εἰρήνην οἱ πρέσβεις πιστωσάμενοι οἴκαδε χωροῦσιν.

[4] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 3: Τὸν Βίνδικα τὸν Μακρῖνον ἔπαρχον ὄντα ἀποκτεινάντων, τούτῳ μὲν τρεῖς ἀνδριάντας ἔστησεν. This custom of erecting statues in honor of successful Roman generals was established by Marcus Aurelius. It was designed to take the place of the *ornamenta triumphalia*, which, since the time of Trajan, had been enjoyed only by the emperors. Several instances occur in which Marcus thus honored his deserving subjects. See Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 5, pp. 35–8. Capitolinus tells us he placed statues of all the illustrious men who fell in the Marcomannic war in the Forum of Trajan. Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 22.

Vitrasius Pollio.[1] While the war with the Marcomanni was still in progress, a number of the German tribes whose homes were along the right bank of the Rhine had become inspired with the warlike spirit of their neighbors on the east, and had penetrated as far south as Italy itself. The generals whom Marcus selected to march against them were Pompeianus and Pertinax.[2] A better choice could scarcely have been made. The success with which Pompeianus fought is manifest by the fact that in the next year, 173, he was made one of the regular consuls of the year. As for Pertinax, we are expressly told that he wrested Rhætia and Noricum from the power of the barbarians.[3]

The warfare being now suspended for a time, the Emperor was given an opportunity to recruit his diminished forces. This he accomplished, as we have before said, by enlisting the conquered nations on his side.[4] Towards the close of 173 or the beginning of 174 he went to Rome, probably to carry out his agreements with the barbarians.[5] But the respite thus afforded him was of short duration; for the Quadi began once

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[1] This was the man who was consul for the second time in 176. The only reason for supposing he was at one time *praefectus praetorio* is, that in the apocryphal letter of Marcus Aurelius to the senate, annexed to the first *Apology* of Justin Martyr, the Emperor speaks of Vitrasius Pollio as his "prefect." The letter, though not inserted by Justin Martyr himself, who had suffered death several years before this time, is of an early date; and it is contended by Borghesi that the "prefect" therein mentioned was the *praefectus praetorio* who succeeded Macrinus Vindex. See Borghesi's letter to M. Gerhard, in the *Mém. de la soc. des antiquitaires du Rhin*, 1843, n. 2, pp. 104–5; his *Œuvres*, v. 5, p. 37; and his letter to M. Renier, dated April 29, 1854.

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 3: Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥῆνον Κελτῶν μέχρι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἤλασαν, καὶ πολλὰ ἔδρασαν ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δεινά· οἷς ὁ Μάρκος ἀντεπιὼν, Πομπηϊανόν τε καὶ Περτίνακα τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἀντικαθίστη.

[3] Capit., *Pertin.*, c. 2: *Statimque Raetias et Noricum ab hostibus uindicauit;* Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 3: Καὶ ἠρίστευσεν ὁ Περτίναξ.

[4] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 21: *Emit et Germanorum auxilia contra Germanos.*

[5] This advent of the Emperor to the capital is not mentioned by any of the historians; but it appears clearly from a coin in Eckhel, v. 7, p. 61.

more to pour down upon the Roman frontiers.[1] It was in the campaign which the Emperor now conducted against this tribe that the so-called "miraculous victory" was won. In the summer of 174[2] the forces of Marcus Aurelius, "finding themselves, in the midst of the combat, reduced to the last extremity, were rescued from danger in a manner altogether supernatural. The Romans had been driven into a position in every way favorable to the Quadi; the latter had then surrounded them on all sides and hemmed them in. The imperial forces, therefore, were compelled to battle vigorously; but the barbarians put themselves entirely upon the defensive, trusting that the Romans would be overcome by thirst and heat, and they seized every avenue of approach in order that the army might be cut off from the water. At last the Roman forces became so prostrated by sickness, by wounds, by the heat of the sun, and by thirst, that they were able neither to fight longer nor to retreat, and it seemed as if the entire army must certainly perish on the spot. But all at once the sky became overcast with clouds, and the rain descended in torrents, not by chance, but by divine assistance. For it is said that a certain Arnuphis, a magician of Egypt, who was with Marcus, had by some magic arts invoked the favor of Mercury and other spirits, and through their aid had called down the rain. . . . When the rain began to fall, all, looking up, at first received it in their mouths. Afterwards they caught it, some in their shields, others in their helmets, out of which

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[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 8: *Ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους Κουάδους καὶ πόλεμος αὐτῷ συνέστη μέγας.*

[2] Wietersheim, *Gesch. der Völkerwand.*, v. 1, p. 126, places the battle in 173; and he bases his opinion upon a coin in Eckhel, v. 7, p. 60, on which we find a figure of Mercury. But Eckhel maintains, I believe with justice, that the figure of Mercury has no connection with this battle. A conclusive proof that it occurred much later is furnished by the fact that we are told in Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 10, that immediately after the battle Marcus was saluted as *Imperator VII.* Now, some of the coins of 174 bear the title of *Imperator VI.* and some that of *Imperator VII.* Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 61–2. The victory must, therefore, have occurred during the year 174; and, by the fact that the soldiers were then suffering from the intense heat, it is fixed to the summer of that year.

they drank greedily, and also gave to their horses to drink. And when the barbarians fell upon them they drank and fought at the same time; and some who were wounded drank water mixed with the blood which fell from their wounds into their helmets. And, indeed, being attacked while most of them were busy quenching their thirst, they would have suffered greatly from their enemies, had not a violent storm of hail, with lightning, descended upon the combatants; so that at the same time, and in the same place, might be seen water and fire coming down from heaven, whereby the one party was refreshed with drink, and the other was burned and consumed. The fire did not reach the Romans, or if it did, it was immediately extinguished. Nor did the rain help the barbarians, but rather increased the flame, like oil; so that, though they were rained on, they called for water; and some wounded themselves, that they might put out the fire with blood; and others went over to the Romans, since their water only it was possible to drink. Wherefore Marcus took pity on them."[1] After this victory the soldiers immediately

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 8 and 10. To this account Xiphilinus, the Christian abbreviator of the eleventh century, adds: "So this affair is related by Dion. But it seems to me he lies, either on purpose or through ignorance. I am rather inclined to think he does so purposely; for he was not unacquainted with the legion of soldiers called the 'thundering legion,' which he himself has mentioned in his catalogue of the other legions. Nor has it ever been said that it obtained that name for any other reason than on account of what happened in that war. For it was this legion, not Arnuphis the magician, that was the cause of deliverance to the Romans and of destruction to the barbarians. Nor is it anywhere related that Marcus was fond of magicians or their tricks. The truth is this: Marcus had a legion, the soldiers of which were brought from Melitene, and were all Christians. At that time the *praefectus praetorio*, being in great perplexity, and apprehensive of the loss of the whole army, is said to have come to the Emperor, telling him that there was nothing which Christians were not able to perform by prayers, and that there was in the army a whole legion of this sect. When Marcus heard that, he desired them to pray to their God. As soon as they did so, God immediately heard them and beat down their enemies with lightning, while the Romans he refreshed with rain. At which Marcus, being greatly astonished, favored the Christians with an edict, and ordered that the legion should be called 'the thundering legion.' It is also said there is an epis-

saluted Marcus as *Imperator VII.* And, although he was not in the habit of accepting the title before it was voted him by

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tle of Marcus concerning these things. The Greeks know very well, and bear witness, that there is a legion with that name; but they do not give the reason of it." Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 10. Xiphilinus does not mention his authority, but that is of little importance; for, in his time, the view he expressed was universally accepted. See, for example, Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, lib. 12, c. 2; also Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 4, c. 12. In tracing the belief back to its origin we find it upheld by Orosius, *Hist. aduers. Pagan.*, lib. 7, c. 15, §§ 7–11; by Gregorius *Nyssenus*, *De quadr. martyr. orat.*, 2; and by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 5, c. 5. All these were Christian writers. Of the three Eusebius gives the story most fully. He says, "It is said that when Marcus Aurelius was about to engage in battle with the Germans and Sarmatians, his army was suffering greatly from thirst, and he knew not what course to take. Then, however, the soldiers that belonged to the Melitene legion, as it was called, which still subsists as a reward of their faith, bending their knees upon the earth, according to our peculiar custom of praying, offered their prayers to God while drawn up in battle array against the enemy. And as this was a singular spectacle to the barbarians, a still more singular circumstance is reported to have happened soon after; streaks of lightning descended, which drove the enemy into flight and destruction, but a shower of rain fell on the army which had prayed to God, and refreshed them when they were on the point of perishing with thirst. This is related by such writers as are far from embracing our religion, but were concerned in recording the events of those times; it is also related by our authors. By other writers, who were averse to our religion, the wonderful event is recorded, but they do not acknowledge that it was owing to the prayers of our people; but by our authors, who were lovers of truth, what happened is related in a plain and ingenuous manner. One of them is Apollinarius, who says that from that time the legion, by whose prayers that wonderful deliverance was obtained, was by the Emperor's orders called 'the thundering legion,' a name suited to the event. Tertullian is another witness worthy of credit, who, in his apology for our faith, addressed to the Roman senate in the Latin tongue (of which we also before made mention), strongly confirms the truth of this story; saying that there is still extant the letter of that worthy Emperor, Marcus, in which he testifies that when his army was in great danger of perishing in Germany for want of water, it was saved by the prayers of the Christians. Tertullian likewise says that the same Emperor threatened the punishment of death to such as should accuse them. But of these things let every one judge as he sees fit." Unfortunately, Eusebius does not name the heathen writers, who, as he says, have recorded this event; and of Apollinarius, one of the

the senate, on this occasion he did accept it, as being a gift from heaven.[1]

Christian writers whom he mentions, nothing has come down to us. The other, Tertullian, speaks of the fact in his *Ad Scapulam*, c. 4, where he says, "Marcus Aurelius, also, in his expedition to Germany, by the prayers his Christian soldiers offered to God, got rain in that well-known thirst;" and again, in his *Apologeticus*, c. 5, he alludes to "the letter of that grave emperor, Marcus Aurelius, in which he bears testimony that the drought in Germany was relieved by rain obtained through the prayers of the Christians who chanced to be fighting under him. And, though he did not by public law remove from Christians their disabilities, yet in another way he put them openly aside, even adding a sentence of condemnation against their accusers, and that, too, a severer one than would have been inflicted on the Christians whom they accused." Tertullian, again, neglects to tell where the letter of Marcus is to be found. Such an epistle, however, may be read at the end of Justin Martyr's *Apologia*. It runs thus: "The Emperor Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Germanicus, Parthicus, Sarmaticus, to the people of Rome and to the sacred senate, greeting: I explained to you my grand design, and what advantages I gained on the confines of Germany, though with much labor and suffering, since I was surrounded by the enemy; I myself being shut up in Carnuntum by seventy-four cohorts, nine miles off. And the enemy being at hand, the scouts pointed out to us, and our general, Pompeianus, showed us, that there was close on us an enormous multitude of 977,000 men, which, indeed, we saw; and I was shut up by this vast host, having with me a battalion composed of the 1st, the 10th *Gemina*, and the *Fretensis* legions. Having thus examined my own position and my host, with respect to the vast mass of barbarians and of the enemy, I quickly betook myself to prayer to the gods of my country. But being disregarded by them, I summoned those among us who go by the name of Christians. And, having made inquiry, I discovered a great number of them, and raged against them, which was by no means becoming; for afterwards I learned their power. Wherefore they began the battle, not by preparing weapons, nor arms, nor bugles; for such preparation is hateful to them, on account of the God they bear about in their conscience. Therefore it is probable that those whom we suppose to be atheists have God as their ruling power intrenched in their conscience. For, having cast themselves on the ground, they prayed not only for me, but also for

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[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 10: Παρὰ δὲ τῶν στρατιωντῶν τὸ ἕβδομον αὐτοκράτωρ προσηγορεύθη. καίπερ δὲ οὐκ εἰωθὼς, πρὶν τὴν βουλὴν ψηφίσασθαι, τοιοῦτόν τι προσίεσθαι, ὅμως ἐδέξατό τε αὐτὸ, ὡς καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ λαμβάνων, καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπέστειλεν. See also Eckhel, v. 7, p. 62.

During these years, while Marcus was engaged with the more westerly tribes of Germany, the Iazyges had found an

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the whole army as it stood, that it might be delivered from the present thirst and famine. For during five days we had got no water, because there was none; for we were in the heart of Germany and in the enemy's country. And, simultaneously with their casting themselves upon the ground, and praying to God (a God of whom I am ignorant), water poured from heaven, upon us most refreshingly cool, but upon the enemies of Rome a fiery hail. And immediately we recognized the presence of God following on the prayer — a God unconquerable and indestructible. Founding upon this, then, let us pardon such as are Christians, lest they pray for and obtain such a weapon against ourselves. And I counsel that no such person be accused on the ground of his being a Christian. But if any one be found laying to the charge of a Christian that he is a Christian, I desire that it be made manifest that he who is accused as a Christian, and acknowledges that he is one, is accused of nothing else than only this, that he is a Christian; but that he who arraigns him be burned alive. And I further desire, that he who is intrusted with the government of the province shall not compel the Christian, who confesses and certifies such a matter, to retract; neither shall he commit him. And I desire that these things be confirmed by a decree of the senate. And I command this, my edict, to be published in the Forum of Trajan, in order that it may be read. The prefect, Vitrasius Pollio, will see that it be transmitted to all the provinces round about, and that no one who wishes to make use of or to possess it be hindered from obtaining a copy from the document I now publish." This, then, is the document upon which the entire claim of Eusebius and the rest is based. It is unfortunate for their cause that the letter has come down as a part of Justin Martyr's works; for Justin had suffered martyrdom several years before the "miraculous victory" occurred. It may be worth while to say a word or two more about this letter. In the first place, it bears an odd inscription; in no other passage is Marcus Aurelius designated by the three titles — *Germanicus*, *Parthicus*, *Sarmaticus;* the two latter he resigned on the death of Lucius Verus, before he received the former. Secondly, the number of the enemy, 977,000, is striking, both in its magnitude and in the accuracy of the computation. Thirdly, the attitude which Marcus takes in this letter towards the Christians is directly opposed to what we learn from other sources. For these and many other reasons, Scaliger (*ad Eusebium*, p. 223), Saumaise (*ad Capitolinum*, *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 24), and Reimarus (*ad Dionem*, lib. 71, c. 9) do not hesitate to declare the letter a forgery; and they have been followed by Lardner, *Works*, v. 7, p. 446, and Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, v. 2, p. 25. But even if we give this letter up, are there not other reasons for believing the story? Eusebius says

opportunity to recruit their strength and courage. Scarcely had he succeeded in repressing the Quadi before his presence

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that Apollinarius (the authority whose works are now lost) records that in recognition of the services rendered by the legion of Christian soldiers Marcus conferred upon it the name of Κεραυνοβόλον, or the "Thundering Legion;" and he also says that the legion came originally from Melitene. Now, it is odd that there was in the time of Trajan a legion called by the same name, *Fulminatrix*, and that this was the 12th legion (see Gruter, p. 193, *no.* 3), the very one which, after the siege of Jerusalem, was sent to Melitene. Iosephus, *Bell. Iud.*, lib. 7, c. 1, § 3. Indeed, this same legion was in existence in the time of Augustus, and known as the Κεραυνοφόρον. Dion Cassius, lib. 55, c. 23. Thus the last argument in favor of the legion of Christians falls away. At what time this story first gained credence it is difficult to say. We have already seen that Dion Cassius knew nothing about it; nor, indeed, did the composer of the *Sibylline oracles*, although he was a Christian; for in the twelfth book, believed to have been written in the third century, the miraculous victory is attributed to the Emperor's prayers. *Orac. Sibyl.*, lib. 12, ver. 195–200:

Χώρην δέ μιν ἐξαλαπάξει
Πᾶσαν Γερμανῶν, ὁπόταν μέγα σῆμα Θεοῖο
Ουρανόθεν προφανῇ, καί τ' ἄνδρας χαλκοκορυστὰς
Τρυχομένους σώσειε δι' εὐσεβίην βασιλῆος.
Αὐτῷ γὰρ Θεὸς οὐράνιος μάλα πάνθ' ὑπακούσει·
Εὐξαμένῳ βρέξει παρακαίριον ὄμβριον ὕδωρ.

Coming down to later times we find no mention of the story in Capitolinus, who likewise attributes the victory to the prayers of Marcus Aurelius himself. Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 24: *Fulmen de caelo precibus suis contra hostium machinamentum extorsit, suis pluuia impetrata cum siti laborarent.* Lampridius is thought to have had in mind the Christian tradition when he says, in his *Ant. Heliog.*, c. 9: *Cum Marcomannis bellum inferre uellet quod Antoninus pulcherrime profligarat, dictum est a quibusdam per Chaldaeos et magos Antoninum Marcum id egisse ut Marcomanni populo Romano semper deuoti essent atque amici, idque factis carminibus et consecratione.* It seems probable, however, that what is really referred to here is Dion Cassius's story about the Egyptian Arnuphis. In the time of Eusebius it had clearly not become a settled question, for he ends his account with the remark, "But of these things let every one judge as he sees fit." Themistius, in an oration delivered in 381 before a Christian emperor, attributes the victory to the prayers of Marcus Aurelius. Themist., *Orat.*, 15: Ἀντωνίνῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι, ᾧ τούτῳ αὐτὸ ἐπώνυμον ὁ εὐσεβὴς ἦν, τοῦ στρατεύματος ὑπὸ δίψους αὐτῷ πιεζομένου, ἀνασχὼν τὼ χεῖρε ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ταύτῃ, ἔφη, τῇ χειρὶ προὐτρεψάμην σε καὶ ἱκέτευσα τὸν

was needed again in Pannonia to check the incursions of the Iazyges. It was not long, however, before these barbarians had reason to repent once more of their rashness in invading the Roman Empire. This time they were thoroughly defeated. So complete was the victory won by the Romans in this engagement, that the Emperor felt justified in accepting the title of *Sarmaticus*, and, at the same time, that of *Imperator VIII.*[1]

The future now began to look much brighter, and Marcus seriously entertained the hope of making a province out of

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ζωῆς δοτῆρα, ᾗ ζωὴν οὐκ ἀφειλόμην. καὶ οὕτω κατήδεσε τὸν θεὸν τῇ εὐχῇ ὥστε ἐξ αἰθρίας ἦκον νεφέλαι ὑδροφοροῦσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις. Finally, in the year 404, the poet Claudian, speaking of Marcus's battle, leaves us our choice between two views, either that the victory was due to Chaldæan magicians, or that it was obtained by means of the Emperor's prayers; but he says nothing about the Christians. So that the story of the Christian legion cannot have been generally accepted till, at any rate, later than the beginning of the fifth century. Claudian's words are:

> "Clemens Marce redis, cum gentibus undique cinctam
> Exuit Hesperiam paribus Fortuna periclis.
> Laus ibi nulla ducum; nam flammeus imber in hostem
> Decidit: hunc dorso trepidum fumante ferebat
> Ambustus sonipes; hic tabescente solutus
> Subsedit galea liquefactaque fulgure cuspis
> Canduit et subitis fluxere uaporibus enses.
> Tunc contenta polo mortalis nescia teli
> Pugna fuit: Chaldaea mago seu carmina ritu
> Armauere deos, seu, quod reor, omne Tonantis
> Obsequium Marci mores potuere mereri."
>
> Claudian., *De sexto cons. Honor.*, ver. 340–50.

Those who are interested in pursuing this question further will do well to consult Hermann Witsius, *Diatribe de legione fulminatrice* [in his *Aegyptiaca*, 3a ed., Herbornae Nassauiorum, 1717. 8°. pp. 429–64]; the letters between Mr. Moyle and Mr. King [in Walter Moyle's *Works*, Lond., 1726. 2v. 8°. v. 2, pp. 79–390]; Thomas Woolston, *A defence of the miracle of the Thundering Legion*, Lond., 1726. 8°; Nathaniel Lardner's *Jewish and Heathen testimonies* [in his *Works*, Lond., 1788. 11v. 8°. v. 7, pp. 438–59]; John Henry Newman's *Essay on the miracles recorded in the Ecclesiastical history of the early ages* [prefixed to a portion of Fleury's *Ecclesiastical history*, Oxf., 1842. 8°. pp. cxiii.–cxxii.]; and Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, v. 2, pp. 23–6.

[1] Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 62–3.

the territory of the Marcomanni; he even desired to annex a portion of Sarmatia to the Roman Empire;[1] but just at this time came the news that one of his generals had revolted in the East. It will be remembered that at the close of the Parthian war Marcus had left the Syrian legions in command of their able leader, Avidius Cassius.[2] The success with which he had driven the army of Vologeses from the Roman frontier made him the most popular man in all the eastern provinces. This popularity was increased by the fact that Cassius was himself a Syrian by birth,[3] and it gained greatly by the contrast which his own rigid military demeanor offered to the wantonness of Lucius Verus. Cassius was not displeased to observe the growing sentiment in his favor. He was an ambitious man, and even as early as the Parthian war had given Lucius reason to distrust his loyalty. While in charge of the legions in the East, Lucius had written to his brother a letter communicating his suspicions, and recommending the removal of the dangerous leader.[4] Marcus, however, though

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 24: *Voluit Marcomanniam prouinciam, uoluit etiam Sarmatiam facere.*

[2] Noël des Vergers, in his *Essai sur Marc-Aurèle*, p. 96, interprets the words of Dion Cassius (lib. 71, c. 3: Τὸν μέντοι Κάσσιον ὁ Μάρκος τῆς Ἀσίας ἁπάσης ἐπιτροπεύειν ἐκέλευσεν) as implying that the political administration of the provinces was intrusted to Cassius. This supposition meets with a serious difficulty when we try to determine what is meant by Asia; for we know that Martius Verus was left as the Roman governor of Cappadocia, and that he was still there when the revolt took place. Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 23: Ὁ δὲ δὴ Μάρκος παρὰ τοῦ Βήρου, τοῦ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἄρχοντος, τὴν ἐπανάστασιν μαθών. Indeed, the hypothesis is almost disproved by the very passage on which it is based; for the words immediately following seem to point to the fact that while it was in Asia that Cassius was left in command, the wars to which the Emperor himself attended were those with the Quadi and the Marcomanni. Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 3: Αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἴστρον βαρβάροις, Ἰάζυξί τε καὶ Μαρκομάνοις . . . ἐπολέμησεν. It is probable, therefore, that Cassius held a purely military position, similar to that intrusted later to the Quintilii, during the absence of Marcus from Pannonia.

[3] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 22: Ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάσσιος, Σύρος μὲν ἐκ τῆς Κύρου ἦν.

[4] Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 1: *Ex epistula Veri "Auidius Cassius auidus est, quantum et mihi uidetur et iam inde sub auo meo patre tuo innotuit, imperii. quem uelim obseruari iubeas. omnia ei nostra displicent, opes non*

well aware of the hold which Cassius had on the affections of the people, felt that this was just the qualification most needed to meet the peculiar emergencies of the time. He therefore deemed it unwise to remove Cassius from his post, although he had before, under somewhat similar circumstances, removed Statius Priscus, his legate in Britain. Marcus accepted what appeared to him a necessary evil, and trusted his own welfare and that of his descendants to the care of Providence. The letter by which he sought to quiet the fears of Lucius is so characteristic that it is worth while to give it in full. "I have read," he says,[1] "your letter expressing fear in regard to Cassius. It is a letter unworthy of an emperor and of the time in which we live. If the deities intend the Empire for Cassius, we have no power to resist their will. You recollect the saying of your ancestor, 'No man ever murders his successor.' But if the destiny of Cassius is not written in the skies, his own efforts will, without action on our part, be his ruin. Besides, we cannot condemn any one against whom there is no accusation, especially if, as you yourself say, he is loved by all his soldiers. Moreover, it is the peculiar nature of treason that the evidence of it is itself the thing which constitutes the injury. You remember what your grandfather, Hadrian, used to say—'No one believes an accusation of treason until those against whom it is directed have been killed.' I have preferred to cite Hadrian, rather than Domitian, although the latter first made this remark, for in the mouths of tyrants even noble sayings lose their force. I pray you, then, let the actions of Cassius take their own course, especially since he is an excellent leader, a rigid master, and a useful servant to the throne. In regard to what you say about the necessity of my providing for my children's welfare by his death—ah! let the children of Marcus Aurelius perish if they deserve less love than Cassius, and if the good of the country will be promoted by their death." Why

mediocres parat, litteras nostras ridet. te philosopham aniculam, me luxoriosum morionem uocat. uide quid agendum sit. ego hominem non odi, sed uide ne tibi et liberis tuis non bene consulat, cum talem inter praecinctos habeas qualem milites libenter audiunt, libenter uident." [1] Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 2.

Cassius was still left in command after the Parthian war was over is more difficult to explain; but the Emperor was probably influenced by the same motives that had led to the first appointment of this general. Though a complete victory had been won, the territories exposed to the barbarian tribes along the eastern boundaries were of such vast extent that it seemed dangerous to remove one who had already impressed the hostile nations by his power. In dealing with these people it was never safe to count upon a long cessation of hostilities, as was proved by what occurred while Marcus was engaged in fighting the Marcomanni; for it was not long after the Parthian war that the Bucolici, a wandering tribe in Egypt, incited by one of their priests and led by a certain Isidore, formed a plan to overcome the Roman officers. Disguising some of their number as women, they gained admission to the centurion's house, on pretence of negotiating with him, and murdered him. Thereupon they were joined by many other Egyptian tribes, and were actually on the point of making a hostile entry into Alexandria, when Avidius Cassius arrived upon the scene. He did not venture a battle with these nomadic peoples, but was enabled, by sowing discord among them, to cause them to disperse.[1] On returning to Syria, Cassius was hailed with increased fervor by his compatriots. His growing favor with the inhabitants of the eastern provinces so stimulated his ambition that, in 175, the rumor being spread abroad that Marcus Aurelius was dead, he ventured to proclaim himself the nominated successor to the throne.[2] According to Dion Cassius, Faustina was the im-

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 4; Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 21; and Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 6.

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 17 and 22; Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 24; Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 7; Victor, *Epit. de Caes.*, c. 16; Ammian. Marcellin., *Rer. gest.*, lib. 21, c. 16, § 11; and Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, lib. 12, c. 3. The date of the insurrection is fixed at a little before May 19th, 175, for in Dion Cassius we read that on receiving the news Marcus sent to Rome for Commodus. Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 22: *Τοῦ δὲ Κασσίου κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν νεωτερίσαντος, σφόδρα ἐκπλαγεὶς ὁ Μάρκος, τὸν Κόμμοδον τὸν υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς καὶ ἐς ἐφήβους ἤδη τελεῖν δυνάμενον, μετεπέμψατο.* And in Lampridius we learn that the departure of Commodus occurred on the 19th

mediate cause of this insurrection; for, perceiving that her husband's health was failing rapidly, and fearing that if Marcus should die while Commodus was yet a boy some stranger might obtain the rule, she deemed it wise to secure her own future welfare by promising Cassius that if he succeeded in mounting the throne she would become his empress.[1]

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of May, 175. Lamprid., *Commod. Ant.*, c. 12: *Pisone et Iuliano consulibus. profectus in Germaniam XIIII. kal. Aelias, ut postea nominauit, isdem consulibus.* Whether, as some writers assert, Cassius started the report of Marcus's death in order to gain adherents to himself is of little importance. It is certain that, when it became known throughout Asia that the Emperor was still living, Cassius did not renounce the claim he had set up, but persisted with even greater zeal in the line of conduct which he had adopted.

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 22: *Τοῦτο δὲ δὴ δεινῶς ἤμαρτεν, ὑπὸ Φαυστίνης ἀπατηθείς. αὕτη γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀῤῥωστήσαντα (ἦν δὲ τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Ἀντωνίνου θυγάτηρ) προσδοκήσασα ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη τελευτήσειν, ἐφοβήθη μὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ (ἅτε τοῦ Κομμόδου καὶ νέου καὶ ἁπλουστέρου τοὺς τρόπους ὄντος) περιελθούσης, ἰδιωτεύσῃ· καὶ ἔπεισε τὸν Κάσσιον δι' ἀποῤῥήτων παρασκευάσασθαι, ἵν', ἄν τι ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος πάθοι, καὶ αὐτὴν, καὶ τὴν αὐταρχίαν λάβῃ.* This conspiracy of Faustina is also mentioned by Capitolinus, *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 24: *Atque imperatorem se appellauit, ut quidam dicunt, Faustina uolente, quae de mariti ualetudine desperaret;* and by Gallicanus, *Auid. Cass.*, c. 7: *Hic imperatorem se in oriente appellauit, ut quidam dicunt Faustina uolente, quae ualetudini Marci iam diffidebat et timebat ne infantes filios tueri sola non posset atque aliquis existeret, qui capta statione regia infantes de medio tolleret.* But Gallicanus attempts to defend Faustina from the charge by publishing a correspondence carried on at that time between the Emperor and his wife, in which Faustina encourages her husband to take active measures to put down the conspiracy. Whether or not Faustina was a party to the revolt of Cassius, the correspondence furnished by Gallicanus bears very strong color of being a forgery gotten up at a later day in order to clear the stain away from Faustina's memory. At all events, the letters make assertions in matters of fact which are clearly incorrect. In the first place, the Emperor is said, in Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 9, to be at Albanum, a town in the vicinity of Rome, during the rebellion. Now, all the other accounts agree in the supposition that Marcus was in Pannonia at the time. Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 22, says that when Marcus heard of the revolt he sent for Commodus; and Lampridius, *Commod. Ant.*, c. 12, says that Commodus set out for Germany on the 19th of May, 175; then, too, Capitolinus, *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 25, adds, that the people at Rome were in consternation, owing to the absence of the Emperor.

Be this as it may, the rebellion itself was not long hid. Martius Verus, the Emperor's faithful legate in Cappadocia, had the honor of making it known;[1] and the news reached Marcus soon after his glorious victory over the Iazyges. The sentiment which Marcus first experienced on being made acquainted with the startling news was one of extreme sadness. It was painful to him to feel that a single one of his subjects was discontented with his rule. In accordance, however, with the principle which he had enunciated in his letter to Lucius Verus, he was unwilling to offer any opposition. The Roman people were

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The second inconsistency in the alleged correspondence appears in Gallicanus, *Auid. Cass.*, c. 10, where Fadilla is spoken of as *puella uirgo;* but if the conclusion to which we arrived with reference to this girl be not erroneous, she must have been at this time about twenty-five years of age and probably already married to Claudius Severus. The third error is in c. 11, where Marcus encourages his wife by saying, "I have named our Pompeianus consul for the coming year;" and in c. 12, from which it would seem that Pompeianus had never before been consul. But Pompeianus was consul for the last time in 173, two years before the insurrection of Cassius, and even then he had already some years before been *consul suffectus.* Lastly, it seems impossible that this correspondence should have been carried on at all. For by a number of coins (Eckhel, v. 7, p. 79; see also Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 10; and Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 26) on which Faustina is designated as *mater castrorum,* it is proved that Marcus's wife was for a part of the time, at any rate, with him in Pannonia, and that she was there at this very time is made likely by the fact that when, a few months later, he started for the East, she accompanied him on his journey. In conclusion, it should be said that the authenticity of this correspondence, first questioned by Le Nain de Tillemont, in his *Hist. des Emp.*, note 19 on Marc-Aurèle, has since been doubted by so eminent a critic as Borghesi, in his *Œuvres*, v. 5, pp. 434–7.

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 23: Ὁ δὲ δὴ Μάρκος παρὰ τοῦ Βῆρου, τοῦ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἄρχοντος, τὴν ἐπανάστασιν μαθών.

governed by an emperor; but Marcus Aurelius was determined that his subjects should choose their emperor for themselves. He therefore said nothing about the rebellion,[1] and continued his operations against the German tribes. Before long news arrived which made it clear that Cassius was meeting with much opposition from those whom he had looked upon as his adherents. The report of the rebellion soon spread throughout the army; and it was no longer possible to doubt in what light the usurper was generally regarded. Marcus, therefore, became once more the champion of the people's will. He gathered his soldiers about him, and addressed them — if the report is accurate — in the following words:[2] "I am not here, my soldiers, to lament or give way to anger. For to what end should we be angry with the gods, to whom all things are possible? You will, however, grant that we must grieve to find any one brought to misfortune through the injustice of his fellows; and it is in this position that I now am. Surely it is a great disaster for us, who have just completed one war, to be plunged into another, and especially a civil war. And, worse than all, is it not sad to feel that there is no reliance to be placed in man, that I have been deceived by one for whom I had great affection, and that I am constrained, in spite of my desires, to shed more blood, though I have neither brought on this difficulty by my own fault nor given just cause of complaint to any man? In what virtue can we trust, or, after this, on what friendship can we rely? Does it not seem as if henceforth we must banish all society, all communication with our fellows? If the present danger were directed against me alone, I should let matters take their course (for the time must come when every man's activity shall cease). But since this excitement, nay, this rebellion, is become general, the evil rests equally upon all of us. If it were possible, I should be truly glad to leave it to you or to the senate to decide whether you will be ruled by Cassius or by me. I would yield with pleasure the whole

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 23: *Τέως μὲν συνέκρυπτεν αὐτά.*

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 24–6.

Empire rather than shed your blood, if I could feel that thus the public good would be promoted. Indeed, the service of my country not only costs me toil and danger, but keeps me, though now well on in years, and unable through bodily infirmity either to eat or sleep, far from home and in a foreign land. But since I cannot hope that Cassius, who has shown himself so unfaithful, can be induced to yield, I bid you, my fellow-soldiers, be courageous. The Cilicians, the Syrians, the Jews, the Egyptians, have never proved themselves your equals, nor ever will; not even if their numbers were as many times superior to yours as they are inferior. True, Cassius has won fame and victories by his power; yet you behold in him only an eagle followed by a flock of jackdaws, a lion acting as leader to a herd of deer. What of it if his deeds in Parthia have added glory to his name? Have you not a Martius Verus, by no means his inferior, who has, indeed, succeeded better in this strife and won over a greater number of followers to himself? Besides, it may be that when he hears I am not yet dead he will repent. For he would never have dared to undertake this rebellion had he been aware that I was still alive; and it may yet be that when the news of your approach shall reach him he will change his resolution, and, appreciating your valor, will respect the dignity of my office. I fear only, fellow-soldiers (for I speak the truth to you in confidence), that he will destroy his own life through shame of appearing before us, or that some one else will slay him when the news of our approach arrives. Were this to happen, I should lose the richest fruit of all my victory, the greatest trophy that ever warrior won in battle—the pleasure of pardoning one who has sinned against me, the satisfaction of remaining faithful to one who sought to break the bonds of friendship. You may, perhaps, be told that I have exaggerated the prospect of your success; but such is not the truth. All bravery is not yet banished from among you; you still possess the relics of your ancient valor. If any one distrusts your powers, this only adds an incitement to my zeal, in order that what the whole world deems impossible it

may see you do. What a gain this one thing would be, if we could so gloriously terminate this war as to prove to all men that it is possible even in civil strife to act with justice."

The Emperor now sent to Rome for Commodus;[1] and Commodus set out from the city on the 19th of May, 175.[2] The main purpose of Marcus in summoning his son was, undoubtedly, to present to the people in the East their future ruler. But he would also naturally be in great measure influenced by that craving for sympathy which always becomes so intense when two persons are threatened by a common danger. As the father's age increased, he came to look upon Commodus more and more as his partner on the throne. However, the joy with which the Emperor welcomed him on his arrival at Pannonia must have been tinged with a feeling of sadness. He could hardly fail to observe the evil tendencies which were developing in the boy; and these caused him still greater grief on account of the care which he had taken in educating his son.[3] Commodus had been hailed as *Caesar* when he was four years old, and from that time his father had spared no pains to make him an honor to the throne and a benefactor to his people. He had furnished Commodus with the best masters of the time;[4] he had also introduced him, in his fourteenth year, into the priesthood. Nearly everything that could be desired was provided for his

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[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 22: Ὁ Μάρκος τὸν Κόμμοδον τὸν υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς καὶ ἐς ἐφήβους ἤδη τελεῖν δυνάμενον, μετεπέμψατο.

[2] Lampridius, *Commod. Ant.*, c. 12: *Pisone et Iuliano consulibus. profectus in Germaniam XIIII. kal. Aelius, ut postea nominauit, isdem consulibus.*

[3] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 36: Ἐν δ' οὖν τοῦτο ἐς τὴν οὐκ εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτοῦ συνηνέχθη, ὅτι τὸν υἱὸν καὶ θρέψας καὶ παιδεύσας ὡς οἷόν τε ἦν ἄριστα πλεῖστον αὐτοῦ ὅσον διήμαρτεν.

[4] Herodian., *Hist.*, lib. 1, c. 2: Τὸν δὲ περιόντα Κόμμοδόν τε καλούμενον ὁ πατὴρ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀνεθρέψατο, πάντοθεν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπὶ λόγοις δοκιμωτάτους ἐπὶ συντάξεσιν οὐκ εὐκαταφρονήτοις καλῶν, ὅπως συνόντες ἀεὶ παιδεύοιεν αὐτῷ τὸν υἱόν; and Lamprid., *Commod. Ant.*, c. 1: *Commodum Marcus et suis praeceptis et magnorum atque optimorum uirorum erudire conatus est.*

son's welfare. One thing only was wanting, a home, and that it was not in the power of the Emperor to supply. For eight years Marcus had been engaged in foreign wars;[1] most of the time his wife had been with him in Pannonia; and Commodus was left to grow up in the imperial palace at Rome, with no companions whom he could call his equals. This was certainly unfortunate for the boy, but under the circumstances scarcely any other course was open to his father. To keep Commodus with him in the army at this tender age would have been obviously unwise. All that Marcus could do was to leave his son in the hands of the best masters he could find, and trust that the knowledge which he thus acquired would make him feel the worthlessness of the flattery with which the fortunate are always greeted. The result fell far below the expectations of the Emperor; and it is likely that, so early as the time when Commodus joined his father in Pannonia, Marcus detected traits in his son's character which caused him great anxiety. With one thing, however, he could console himself. The childhood of Commodus was now over. Hereafter his father could keep him with him in all his wars. And from this time on the Emperor never undertook a journey unless accompanied by his son.

Marcus now began in earnest his preparations for the expedition against Cassius. He did not, however, cease all hostilities against the Germans. Dion Cassius tells us that while Marcus was getting ready for the civil war he won a number of victories over the barbarians.[2] Yet there can be no doubt he came to terms with them much sooner than otherwise he would have done.[3] In drawing up his conditions of peace with these tribes the Emperor displayed a good deal of shrewdness. The stipulations upon which he insisted were very various, depending on the character of the individual tribes and

[1] Lamprid., *Commod. Ant.*, c. 1: *Quarto decimo aetatis anno in collegium sacerdotum adscitus est.*

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 27: Παρασκευαζομένῳ δὲ Μάρκῳ πρὸς τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον, ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ νίκαι κατὰ διαφόρων βαρβάρων ἐν ταὐτῷ.

[3] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 17: Ἠνάγκασαν καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τὸν Μάρκον Ἀντωνῖνον τοῖς Ἰάζυξι συμβῆναι.

the position of their territory.[1] The Marcomanni, who, by reason of their large numbers, would be likely to prove a dangerous element if given territory within the Roman Empire, were not allowed to cross the Danube; and, though the Emperor surrendered to them one half the contested country north of the river, he insisted all the more imperatively that they should remain as far as thirty-eight *stadia* from the Danube.[2] Further, he refused to permit them to come into the Roman territory for purposes of trade, except in the manner and at the times which he should himself appoint.[3] The burdens which he imposed upon the Quadi were even more severe. It appears that at an early stage of the hostilities the Quadi had obtained peace on condition that they would break off all communication with the Marcomanni, would furnish a large number of horses and oxen, and would surrender up all deserters, together with 13,000 captives, still others to be delivered over at a future day.[4] Moreover, the Quadi were not to carry on commerce with any of the tribes about them, and they took an oath not to allow the Marcomanni or Iazyges to cross their land.[5] But these conditions were not entirely

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[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 19: Ὁ Μάρκος δὲ τοὺς πρεσβευομένους τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐδέχετο, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πάντας· ἀλλ' ὥς που ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἢ πολιτείαν, ἢ ἀτέλειαν, ἢ ἄδιον, ἢ καὶ πρὸς χρόνον τινὰ ἄνεσιν τοῦ φόρου λαβεῖν, ἢ καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἀθάνατον ἔχειν ἄξιοι ἦσαν.

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 15: Τοῖς δὲ Μαρκομάνοις πρεσβεύσασιν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ προσταχθέντα σφίσι, χαλεπῶς μὲν καὶ μόλις, ἐποίησαν δ' οὖν, τό, τε ἥμισυ τῆς χώρας τῆς μεθορίας ἀνῆκεν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς ὀκτώ που καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἴστρου ἀποικεῖν.

[3] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 15: Καὶ τὰ χωρία τάς τε ἡμέρας τῆς ἐπιμιξίας ἀφώρισε (πρότερον γὰρ οὐ διεκέκριντο), τούς τε ὁμήρους ἠλλάξαντο.

[4] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 11: Οἱ δὲ εἰρήνην αἰτούμενοι, ὥσπερ οἱ Κούαδοι, καὶ ἔτυχόν γε αὐτῆς, ἵνα τε ἀπὸ τῶν Μαρκομάνων ἀποσπασθῶσι, καὶ ὅτι ἵππους καὶ βοῦς πολλὰς ἔδωκαν, τούς τε αὐτομόλους πάντας, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πρότερον μὲν ἐς μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχοντο; and Petrus *Patricius*, *Historiae*, c. 7: Ὅτι Κούαδοι πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν πρὸς Μάρκον εἰρήνην αἰτούμενοι, καί ἔτυχον. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἵππους, πολλοὺς δὲ βόας δεδώκασι, καὶ αἰχμαλώτους τότε μὲν μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἑτέρους πλείστους ἀπέλυσαν.

[5] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 11: Οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῆς ἐπιμιξίας καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀγο-

performed. The Quadi became discontented. They drove out Furtius, the king whom Marcus had placed over them, and raised up Ariogæsus in his stead. For some unknown reason this act made the Emperor very indignant. He at once offered a thousand *aurei* (about $5000) for the capture of Ariogæsus, or half that sum if he should be killed.[1] At this the Quadi became frightened, and promised 50,000 captives if the Emperor would pardon them. But he refused.[2] Later, however, when Ariogæsus was brought before him, the Emperor took pity on him, and simply punished him by banishment to Alexandria.[3] What terms Marcus finally accepted from the Quadi we are not told; but it is probable that he renewed the stipulations on which he had before insisted, and, in addition, took from them the 50,000 prisoners they had promised. It seems likely, too, that at this time he erected a number of castles in the barbarians' territory in order to secure the fulfilment of his wishes.[4] To the smaller tribes who had revolted he was more lenient, partly because he feared less trouble from them, and partly because many of them had rendered him some assistance in the war. The Astingi, for example, under their leaders Raus and Rapt, had come into Dacia with the hope of being granted land and money. Both were promised them on condition that they would attack the Costoboci, in the northeast of Dacia. They therefore left their wives and children under Clemens, the governor of the province, and marched against the Costoboci,

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ραῖς ἔτυχον, ἵνα μὴ καὶ οἱ Μαρκομάνοι οἵ τε Ἰαζυγες, οὓς οὔτε δέξασθαι οὔτε διήσειν διὰ τῆς χώρας ὁμωμόκεσαν, ἅμα μιγνύωνται σφίσι.

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 14: Τῷ δ' Ἀριογαίσῳ ὁ Μάρκος οὕτω χαλεπῶς ἔσχεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐπικηρῦξαι, ἵνα ἂν μέν τις ζῶντα ἀγάγῃ, χιλίους, ἂν δὲ ἀποκτείνας τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποδείξῃ, πεντακοσίους χρυσοῦς λάβῃ.

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 13: Οὔτε τὰς σπονδὰς, καίπερ πέντε μυριάδας αἰχμαλώτων ἀποδώσειν ὑπισχνουμένοις, ἀνενεώσατο.

[3] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 14: Οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακόν τι ἀλόντα μετὰ ταῦτα ἔδρασεν, ἀλλ' ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπέστειλεν.

[4] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 20: Οἱ δὲ Κούαδοι καὶ οἱ Μαρκομάνοι ἐπρεσβεύσαντο πρὸς Μάρκον, ὅτι δύο μυριάδες στρατιωτῶν ἐν τείχεσιν ὄντες, κ. τ. λ. See also Dion Cassius, lib. 72, c. 2.

whom they defeated.[1] Whereupon the Lacringes, fearing that Clemens would send the Astingi against them, determined to anticipate him. So they made an attack unexpectedly upon the Astingi, and utterly defeated them.[2] However, the Astingi, in reward for their services, appear to have received all that had been promised them. Another tribe, the Varistæ, numbering about 3000 souls, being in great distress through hunger, voluntarily came over to the Romans and were given land.[3] We are not told what territory was assigned to the different tribes, but it is stated in a general way that Marcus found lands for some of the barbarians in Dacia, for others in Pannonia, Mœsia, Germany, and even Italy.[4] These concessions did not always prove beneficial. More than once the barbarians acted treacherously, and used the advantages thus given them for the purpose of plundering their Roman neighbors. The Cotini, for instance, who had offered to go under Tarruntenus Paternus against the Marcomanni, turned about and did much injury to the Roman forces, though they were at last overcome.[5] It is recorded, too, that the Astingi, after they had been settled in their

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[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 12: *Ἀστιγγοι δὲ, ὧν Ῥᾶός τε καὶ Ῥάπτος ἡγοῦντο, ἦλθον μὲν ἐς τὴν Δακίαν οἰκῆσαι, ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ χρήματα καὶ χώραν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ λήψεσθαι· μὴ τυχόντες δὲ αὐτῶν, παρεκατέθεντο τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῷ* Κλήμεντι, *ὡς καὶ τὴν τῶν* Κοστουβώκων *χώραν τοῖς ὅπλοις κτησόμενοι· νικήσαντες δὲ ἐκείνους, κ. τ. λ.*

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 12: *Δείσαντες δὲ οἱ Δάγκριγοι, μὴ καὶ ὁ* Κλήμης *φοβηθεὶς, σφᾶς ἐς τὴν γῆν, ἣν αὐτοὶ ἐνῴκουν, ἐσαγάγῃ, ἐπέθεντο αὐτοῖς μὴ προσδεχομένοις, καὶ πολὺ ἐκράτησαν.*

[3] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 21: *Καὶ οἱ* Ναρισταὶ *ταλαιπωρήσαντες, τρισχίλιοι ἅμα ηὐτομόλησαν, καὶ γῆν ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἔλαβον.*

[4] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 11: *Οἱ δὲ καὶ γῆν, οἱ μὲν ἐν Δακίᾳ, οἱ δὲ ἐν Παννονίᾳ, οἱ δὲ* Μυσίᾳ *καὶ* Γερμανίᾳ, *τῇ τε* Ἰταλίᾳ *αὐτῇ ἔλαβον.*

[5] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 12: *Κοτινοὶ δὲ ἐσηγγείλαντο αὐτοῖς ὅμοια· Ταρρουντήνιον δὲ Πάτερνον, τὸν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς Λατίνας διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντα, παραλαβόντες, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς* Μαρκομάνους *αὐτῷ συστρατεύσοντες, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐποίησαν τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον δεινῶς ἐκάκωσαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπώλοντο.* The spelling of the name Tarruntenus has given much trouble. Cf. Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 33, and lib. 72, c. 5; and Lampridius, *Commod. Ant.*, c. 4. The best form seems to be Tarruntenus. See Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman biog. and mythol.*, art. Paternus.

new lands, deceived the Emperor.[1] It was these disappointments more than anything else which made Marcus so reluctant to offer the Iazyges any quarter. Dion Cassius says that when legates from the Iazyges came with their king Banadaspus to sue for peace, he not only refused to grant them any conditions, but he made the offending king a prisoner.[2] Later, however, probably after learning of the revolt of Cassius, he became more ready to accept their offers. The terms finally agreed upon by the Emperor and Zanticus, a subsequent king of the Iazyges, were these: the Iazyges were to remain as far as seventy-six *stadia* from the Danube; they were to give up 100,000 captives, including all those that had been bought or had escaped, together with all the bodies of the dead; besides this they had to furnish at once a body of 8000 horsemen, 5500 of whom the Emperor despatched to Britain.[3]

On the conclusion of these arrangements Marcus distributed a *congiarium* among the soldiers in recognition of their gallant services.[4] It is evident, from the fact of this distribution, that the finances of the Empire were now in a better condition than for many years before. For no *congiarium* had been given to the army since 169, and the one in that year had been granted only under great stress of circumstances, when the Emperor wanted to encourage his people in every possible way. In the course of the war the soldiers had, on one occasion, begun to murmur because they were granted no *congiarium;* but Marcus had replied to them that if he were to grant their request he could do so only by draw-

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[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 12: *Καὶ τὴν Δακίαν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐλύπουν.*

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 16: *Πρότερον μὲν γὰρ τὸν βανάδασπον τὸν δεύτερον σφῶν βασιλέα ἔδησαν, ὅτι διεκηρυκεύσατο αὐτῷ.*

[3] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 16: *Τότε δὲ πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι μετὰ τοῦ Ζαντικοῦ ἦλθον, καὶ συνέθεντο τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς Κουάδοις καὶ τοῖς Μαρκομάνοις. πλὴν καθ' ὅσον τὸ διπλάσιον αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἴστρου ἀποικήσειν ἤθελεν. . . . ὅτι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων μυριάδας δέκα ἀπέδοσαν, οὓς πολλοὺς μὲν πραθέντας, πολλοὺς δὲ τελευτήσαντας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ φυγόντας εἶχον· καὶ ἱππέας εὐθὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐς συμμαχίαν οἱ παρέσχον, ἀφ' ὧν πεντακισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ἐς Βρεττανίαν ἔπεμψεν.*

[4] Eckhel, v. 7, p. 62.

ing the very heart's blood from their wives and children.[1] The *congiarium* of the year 175 was well deserved; and, moreover, it was probably needed in order to prevent discontent among the soldiers. It was certainly hard to compel them, immediately upon the completion of the war in Germany, to direct their arms against their countrymen in the East. In preparing for this march against Cassius the Emperor admitted none of the allied barbarian forces, although many of them were eager to join him; for he said it was not expedient that the barbarians should be made acquainted with the troubles which befell the Roman Empire.[2] As it turned out, however, Marcus was himself spared the necessity of carrying on a war against his own subjects; for while he was yet in Illyricum the news was brought to him that the insurrectionists had lost their leader. Cassius had been slain by the hand of one of his own centurions, after a reign of three months and six days.[3] The object of the conspiracy being thus frustrated, the Emperor is recorded to have treated the conspirators with the utmost leniency. When the head of his enemy was brought to him, the sentiment uppermost

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[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 3: *Ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ αἰτηθεὶς παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οὐκ ἔδωκε χρήματα, αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ὅτι, "ὅσῳ ἂν πλεῖόν τι παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς λάβωσι, τοῦτ' ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν τε γονέων σφῶν καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν εἰσπράξεται"*; and *Dionis excerpta;* edid. Angelo Mai [*in his* Scriptorum ueterum noua collectio e Vaticanis codicibus. Romae, 1825–38. 10 v. 4°. v. 2, pp. 135–233], c. 106: *Ὅτι χρήματα ποτὲ αἰτηθεὶς ὁ Μάρκος ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οὐκ ἔδωκεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι ὅσῳ πλέον τοῦ καθεστηκότος λαμβάνουσιν οἱ στρατιῶται, τοσοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν γονέων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν ἐξέρχεται.*

[2] *Dionis excerpta*, c. 107: *Ὅτι παρασκευαζομένου τοῦ Μάρκου εἰς τὸν τοῦ Κασσίου πόλεμον, οὐδεμίαν βαρβαρικὴν συμμαχίαν ἐδέξατο, καί τοι πολλῶν συνδραμόντων αὐτῷ, λέγων μὴ χρῆναι τοῖς βαρβάροις εἰδέναι τὰ μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων κινούμενα κακά.*

[3] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 27: *Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω μῆνάς τε τρεῖς καὶ ἡμέρας ἓξ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀσειρώξας, ἐσφάγη*; and Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 7: *Consensu omnium praeter Antiochenses Auidius interemptus est.* Ammianus Marcellinus says that Marcus was still in Illyricum when this event occurred. Ammian. Marcellin., *Rer. gest.*, lib. 21, c. 16, § 11: *Agens adhuc in Illyrico.* The three months and six days of Cassius's rule must have begun certainly a month before May 19th, 175, when Commodus set out from Rome; the death of Cassius, therefore, took place, probably, in July of that year.

in his mind was one of regret; he had hoped that Cassius would be taken alive, in order that he might have an opportunity to pardon him.[1] It is said, too, that the correspondence which had passed between Cassius and his fellow-conspirators was delivered up to the Emperor, but Marcus gave orders that it should be burned at once; for he felt that the conspiracy had already punished itself, and he was reluctant to regard any as his enemies whom he now looked on as his friends.[2] Cassius's son Mæcianus, whom his father had placed in charge of Alexandria, had already been slain by his army, as had also the *praefectus praetorio* whom Cassius himself had appointed;[3] but the surviving members of the conspirator's family (with the exception of Cassius's son Heliodorus) he left in possession of their liberty and a generous portion of their father's property.[4] With regard to the ac-

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 7, c. 28: Ὁ δὲ Μάρκος τοσοῦτον ἤχθετο τῷ τοῦ Κασσίου ὀλέθρῳ, ὥστε ἀποκεφαλισθέντος οὐδὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἰδεῖν ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ, πλὴν πλησιάσαι τοὺς αὐτόχειρας, ταφῆναί που ἐκέλευσεν; and Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 8: *Caput eius ad Antoninum cum delatum esset, ille non exultauit, non elatus est, sed etiam doluit ereptam sibi esse occasionem misericordiae, cum diceret se uiuum illum uoluisse capere, ut illi exprobraret beneficia sua eumque seruaret.*

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 28: Τὰ δὲ ὑπομνήματα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ γενόμενα κατέκαυσεν, ἵνα μηδ' ὀνείδισμά τι ἐξ αὐτῶν σχῇ; and Ammian. Marcellin., *Rer. gest.*, lib. 21, c. 16, § 11: *Marci illius dissimilis principis uerecundi, qui, cum ad imperiale culmen in Syria Cassius surrexisset, epistolarum fascem ab eo ad conscios missum, perlatore capto sibi oblatum, illico signatum exuri praecepit, agens adhuc in Illyrico, ne insidiatoribus cognitis, inuitus quosdam habere posset offensos.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 25: *Maecianum etiam filium Cassii cui Alexandria erat commissa, exercitus occidit. nam et praefectum praetorio sibi fecerat. qui et ipse occisus est;* and Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 7: *Imperatorio animo cum processisset, cum qui sibi aptauerat ornamenta regia statim praefectum praetorii fecit, qui et ipse occisus est Antonino inuito ab exercitu. qui et Maecianum, cui erat commissa Alexandria quique consenserat spe participatus Cassio, inuito atque ignorante Antonino, interemit.*

[4] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 26: *Deportatus est Heliodorus filius Cassii, et alii liberum exilium acceperunt cum bonorum parte. filii autem Cassii et amplius media parte acceperunt paterni patrimonii et auro atque argento adiuti, mulieres autem etiam ornamentis. ita ut Alexandria filia Cassii et Druentianus gener liberam uagandi potestatem haberent, commendati amitae*

complices already taken, Marcus urged the senate to treat them with all the leniency possible.[1] And he even brought about, to some extent, the abolition of capital punishment, by obtaining the promise that no senator should be put to death during the remainder of his reign.[2]

The rebellion being thus brought to a close, the Emperor was forced to reflect carefully upon its origin. Although its immediate cause had been the ambitious projects of Avidius Cassius, it was undeniable that a very large number of people in the East had consented to the dethronement of the Emperor. Such a spirit among his subjects it had ever been the endeavor of Marcus Aurelius to prevent. And though the result of the insurrection showed that he possessed the confidence of the majority, even in the most distant provinces, it was a cause of regret to him that a single one of his subjects

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marito; and Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 9: *Filios Auidii Cassii Antoninus Marcus parte media paterni patrimonii donauit, ita ut filias eius auro, argento et gemmis cohonestaret. nam et Alexandriae filiae Cassii et genero Druentiano liberam euagandi ubi uellent potestatem dedit. uixeruntque non quasi tyranni pignora sed quasi senatorii ordinis in summa securitate, cum illis etiam in lite obici fortunam propriae uetuisset domus damnatis aliquibus iniuriarum qui in eos petulantes fuissent. quos quidem amicae suae marito commendauit.*

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 25: *In conscios defectionis uetuit senatum grauiter uindicare;* and Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 8: *Ipse autem Antoninus a senatu petiit ne grauiter in conscios defectionis animaduerteretur.*

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 30: Ἔγραψε τῇ βουλῇ, μηδένα τῶν Κασσίῳ συναραμένων τεθνάναι, ὡς καὶ ἐκ μόνου τούτου, παραμυθίου τινὸς ἐπὶ τῇ Φαυστίνῃ τυχεῖν δυνησόμενος. "Μὴ γὰρ γένοιτο," ἔφη, "μηδὲνα ὑμῶν ἐπ' ἐμοί, μήτε τῇ ἐμῇ μήτε τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ψήφῳ σφαγῆναι." καὶ τέλος ἔφη, ὅτι "Ἂν μὴ τούτου τύχω, σπεύσω πρὸς τὸν θάνατον;" Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 25: *Simul petiit nequi senator tempore principatus sui occideretur, ne eius pollueretur imperium;* Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 8: *Rogauit nequis senator temporibus suis capitali supplicio adficeretur; Dionis excerpta*, c. 107: Ὅτι ἐγκειμένης τῆς βουλῆς θανατωθῆναι τοὺς συμπράξαντας Κασίῳ καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς, ἀντέγραψεν ἄλλα τέ τινα καὶ ταῦτα, δέομαι καὶ ἱκετεύω, καθαράν μου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς βουλευτικοῦ αἵματος φυλάξατε· μὴ γὰρ γένοιτο μηδένα ὑμῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μή τε τῇ ἐμῇ μήτε τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ψηφῳ ἀπολέεσθαι; and Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, lib. 12, c. 3: Καὶ τῇ βουλῇ δὲ ἐπέστειλε μηδένα τῶν Κασσίῳ συναραμένων τεθνάναι· "μὴ γὰρ γένοιτο" ἔφη "μηδένα ὑμῶν δι' ἐμὲ μήτε τῇ ἐμῇ μήτε τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ψήφῳ σφαγῆναι. ἂν δὲ μὴ τούτου τύχω, σπεύσω θανεῖν."

could be found to favor a conspiracy against him. While the issue of the conspiracy was yet undecided, he had declared it as his will that the trouble should be allowed to take care of itself. If he was not a satisfactory ruler to the majority of his people, he was ready to resign his authority. And he was confident that, should the insurrection turn out futile, he should win all the greater affection by having permitted the people to decide the question for themselves. When, however, it was no longer doubtful that he was the favorite of his subjects, he became eager to gain the love of those few who had shown themselves discontented. He therefore determined to adopt for a while the policy which Hadrian had practised so successfully; and towards the close of the year 175, placing the army under the command of the Quintilii, he left Pannonia, in company with his wife and Commodus, and began an extensive journey through the eastern provinces.[1]

[1] It has been customary, owing to certain statements in the apocryphal letters already mentioned, to hold that the Emperor returned first to Italy before beginning his journey to the East. But this very fact furnishes us with another reason for throwing aside the correspondence. True, there is a passage in Capitolinus where we read that "he liberated Pannonia from servitude, and celebrated his triumph at Rome with his son Commodus." Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 17: *Pannonias ergo, Marcomannis, Sarmatis, Vandalis, simul etiam Quadis extinctis, seruitio liberauit et Romae cum Commodo quem iam Caesarem fecerat, filio, ut diximus, suo triumphauit.* And the same passage is transcribed by Eutropius, *Breuiar. hist. Roman.*, lib. 8, c. 13: *Ac Pannoniis seruitio liberatis, Romae rursus cum Commodo Antonino, filio suo, quem iam Caesarem fecerat, triumphauit.* But it is clear that these writers intend to express a logical connection of events, not an immediate sequence in time; for the triumph of which they speak did not take place till the autumn of the following year; and when it occurred the Emperor had already made his journey through the East. If, then, he did return to Rome directly from Pannonia, it seems strange that he should have postponed his triumph in order that he might first make a peaceful journey through the eastern provinces. Indeed, the supposition that Marcus first visited Italy is entirely out of harmony with his circumstances at the time, as well as with the purposes which he had in view. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, he was in Illyricum when the news of Cassius's death arrived; and, as the tribe with whom he had been last contending was the Iazyges, it is reasonable to suppose that he

Although we have no direct proof of the fact, there can be little doubt that their travels included a visit to the province of Dacia, where there was a special need of change in the provincial administration, owing to the recent inroads of the barbarians. It is not unlikely that at this time occurred the alteration of Dacia from a prætorian to a consular province, of which we have already spoken. From Dacia the Emperor's journey would naturally lie through Mœsia, whence he could reach Byzantium and the shores of the Mediterranean with little difficulty. How long a time he spent in these parts of the Empire it is impossible to determine, but it was certainly not more than a month or two; for he felt the value of his time, and was reluctant to lose a moment. On reaching the shores of the Ægean Sea he had the option of visiting the seat of the rebellion at once, or of postponing it until his return. The latter course appeared to him preferable.[1] He therefore, as it seems, sailed directly to Alexandria, which had been second only to Antioch as a stronghold of the insurrection. While here he took occasion once more to show his leniency. To all the inhabitants of the city, although they

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was stationed not far from Sirmium. He formed at once the plan of making an extensive journey through his eastern provinces. Now it will be found, on consulting the map, that the distance from Sirmium to Rome is even greater than the entire journey from Sirmium to Smyrna. And, more than this, it appears, from the valuable *Antonini itinerarium*, that there was an almost direct road all the way from Sirmium to the shores of the Ægean Sea. This advantage in the distance, however, is not the only motive which would be likely to influence Marcus in choosing the more easterly route. His purpose was to visit personally the various provinces of the Empire. It would, therefore, be very strange if he should neglect to visit Mœsia and Thrace and Macedonia, which lay directly on his route, merely in order to make another journey to Rome, which he had already visited once within little more than a year. Finally, it should be said that the only statement which the historians of the time make with reference to his departure for the East is to the effect that this event took place on the withdrawal of the Emperor from the German war. Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 25: *Relicto ergo Sarmatico Marcomannicoque bello contra Cassium profectus est.*

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 25: *Noluit Antiochiam uidere cum Syriam peteret . . . postea tamen Antiochiam uidit.*

had offered much valuable assistance to the traitor, he extended a free pardon; and, as a mark of his sincerity, he left one of his daughters among them for a time.[1] He himself found much that was congenial to his tastes in the philosophic spirit of the Alexandrians, and did not hesitate to show his interest by visiting, like an ordinary citizen, the various schools and temples of the place.[2]

On leaving Alexandria he continued by land through the chief cities of the discontented provinces. Wherever he went he took pains to encourage his subjects in their architectural and commercial enterprises, for which the eastern portions of the Empire were already celebrated. The magnificent temples of Palmyra and Heliopolis (Baalbec) are believed to date from this reign or that of Antoninus Pius, and it is by no means impossible that they were begun at the command of Marcus Aurelius during this journey of 175–6. On his return he visited Antioch, which, as the seat of the rebellion, he had thought it wise to avoid a few months before. Antioch was the only city upon which he inflicted any punishment for taking part in the insurrection, and even in this case his measures were intended to prevent difficulties in the future, rather than to punish the faults of the past. The people of Antioch were, like all others, included in the general amnesty, but, in order to guard against conspiracies, he interdicted among them for a time all public gatherings and spectacles.[3] Soon after leaving this city the Emperor suffered a severe blow in the loss of his wife. She died suddenly at Halale, a little village at the foot of the Taurus Mountains.[4] The immediate cause of her death is not known with certainty. Dion Cas-

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 26: *Cum multa Alexandrini in Cassium dixissent fausta, tamen omnibus ignouit et filiam suam apud eos reliquit.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 26: *Apud Aegyptios ciuem se egit et philosophum in omnibus studiis, templis, locis.*

[3] Gallic., *Auid. Cass.*, c. 9: *Antiochensis qui Auidio Cassio consenserant . . . sed et his et aliis ciuitatibus quae illum iuuerant ignouit, cum primo Antiochensibus grauiter iratus esset hisque spectacula sustullisset et multa alia ciuitatis ornamenta, quae postea reddidit.*

[4] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 26: *Faustinam suam in radicibus montis Tauri in uico Halale exanimatam, ui subiti morbi amisit.*

sius says it was gout, from which she was a sufferer, or else that she died by her own hand, through fear of being proved an accomplice of Cassius.[1] Whatever the occasion of her death, her husband's grief was intense. It seems to have been at this time that he wrote to the senate requesting them not to execute any of the accomplices of Cassius.[2] Before leaving Halale, he raised the little town to the rank of a Roman colony, and erected there a temple in honor of Faustina.[3] Later, on his return to Rome, he founded a new charitable institution for girls, the inmates of which were called, after his wife, *Faustinianae*.[4] The senate, too, voted her the title *Diua*, and erected in the Temple of Venus at Rome an altar, on which was placed a silver statue of Marcus and Faustina; here brides used to come with their husbands to offer sacrifice.[5] A vast number of coins were also struck in honor of the *Diua Faustina*;[6] and there is still to be seen in the Palace of the Conservatori at Rome a large bass-relief, originally forming a portion of the triumphal arch of Marcus Au-

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 29: Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον μετήλλαξε καὶ ἡ Φαυστίνα, εἴτε ὑπὸ τῆς ποδάγρας ἣν εἶχεν, εἴτε ἄλλως, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχθῇ ἐφ' οἷς πρὸς τὸν Κάσσιον συνετέθειτο.

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 30: Τὴν δὲ Φαυστίναν ἀποθανοῦσαν ἰσχυρῶς πενθήσας, ἔγραψε τῇ βουλῇ, μηδένα τῶν Κασσίῳ συναραμένων τεθνάναι, ὡς καὶ ἐκ μόνου τούτου, παραμυθίου τινὸς ἐπὶ τῇ Φαυστίνῃ τυχεῖν δυνησόμενος.

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 26: *Fecit et coloniam uicum in quo obiit Faustina et aedem illi extruxit.* It is thought by some that in raising Halale to the rank of a colony, he changed its name to Faustinopolis, a town of Cappadocia, which is put down in the *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti*, c. 145, § 3, and c. 578, § 2. The temple which Marcus erected in Halale was not dedicated till the time of Heliogabalus. Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 26: *Haec postea aedes Heliogabalo dedicata est.* See also Spartianus, *Ant. Caracal.*, c. 11.

[4] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 26: *Nouas puellas Faustinianas instituit in honorem uxoris mortuae.*

[5] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 31: Τῷ δὲ Μάρκῳ καὶ τῇ Φαυστίνῃ ἐψηφίσατο ἡ βουλὴ ἔν τε τῷ Ἀφροδισίῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ εἰκόνας ἀργυρᾶς ἀνετεθῆναι, καὶ βωμὸν ἱδρυθῆναι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς κόρας τὰς ἐν τῷ ἄστει γαμουμένας μετὰ τῶν νυμφίων θύειν, καὶ ἐς τὸ θέατρον χρυσῆν εἰκόνα τῆς Φαυστίνης ἐπὶ δίφρου ἀεί, ὁσάκις γ' ἂν ἐκεῖνος θεωρῇ, ἐσφέρεσθαί τε, καὶ ἐν τῇ προεδρίᾳ, ἐξ ἧς ζῶσα ἐθεᾶτο, τίθεσθαι, καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς δυνάμει προεχούσας συγκαθίζεσθαι.

[6] Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 80–2.

relius, on which is represented her apotheosis.[1] These numerous honors conferred upon Faustina go far towards removing the infamy with which history has branded her name. She was undoubtedly, in many ways, a bitter disappointment to her husband. Her face, as it has come down to us on coins and in busts, is itself the witness alike of her beauty and of her insincerity. But in judging her character we should bear in mind the tendency of the world to exaggerate the vices of a weak woman, and should not forget that the character of Faustina has suffered greatly by comparison with the stern morality of her husband. He himself speaks of her as "a wife, so obedient, and so affectionate, and so simple."[2]

Shortly after his wife's death, in the spring of 176, we find Marcus at Smyrna, attending the lectures of the celebrated rhetorician, Aristides.[3] From this place he proceeded to Athens, where he was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, that he might wash away his sins.[4] While at this famous seat of learning he labored zealously in the cause of education. It happened that at this time Adrian occupied

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[1] An engraving of this bass-relief is given in Bernard de Montfaucon's *Supplément au livre de l'antiquité expliquée.* Paris, 1724. 5v. f°. [Eng. trans., Lond., 1721–2. 5v. f°. v. 5, p. 562, plate 125.]

[2] *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 17. The specific charges made against Faustina are: *first*, that in 175, perceiving the dangerous condition of her husband's health, she attempted to prolong her power as empress by offering her hand to Avidius Cassius, on condition that he should assassinate her husband and usurp the throne; *secondly*, that she poisoned Lucius Verus; and, *thirdly*, that she had other husbands than Marcus, and that Commodus was the fruit of one of these intrigues. I have said little about these charges, because they are scarcely mentioned by the historians of the times, and when they do speak of them they are referred to almost invariably as mere rumors. The most complete study of Faustina's character which has yet appeared is that of Renan, in his *Mélanges d'histoire et des voyages*, pp. 169–95.

[3] Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.*, lib. 2, c. 9, § 2. The date is fixed to the spring of 176 by Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 176.

[4] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 27: *Orientalibus rebus ordinatis Athenis fuit et initialia Cereris adiit, ut se innocentem probaret, et sacrarium solus ingressus est.*

the chair of rhetoric there; Marcus accordingly went to hear him, and was so much pleased that he granted him a sum of money.[1] He also richly endowed a number of other chairs in Athens, and so regulated their methods that they should be open to students from all parts of the Empire.[2] With characteristic breadth of purpose, the Emperor took care that in these professorships all of the leading philosophical schools should be represented.[3] The salary of each of these professors he fixed at 10,000 *drachmae* (about $2000)[4]—a sum which was regarded as unusually liberal at the time.[5]

At length, in the early summer of 176, Marcus set sail for Italy. His stay in the East had made so deep an impression on the people that the historians tell us he "possessed the sincere affection of all the eastern provinces."[6] The voyage from Athens to Brundisium, though not long, proved very rough. It is said the Emperor's vessel encountered a severe gale.[7] He reached Italy, however, without any serious

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[1] Philostrat., *Vit. Sophist.*, lib. 2, c. 10, § 4: *Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Μάρκος Ἀθήναζε ὑπὲρ μυστηρίων ἐστάλη, ἐκράτει μὲν ἤδη τοῦ τῶν σοφιστῶν θρόνου ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος, κ. τ. λ.*

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 31: *Ὁ δὲ Μάρκος, ἐλθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ μνηθεὶς, ἔδωκε μὲν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τιμὰς, ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διδασκάλους ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, ἐπὶ πάσης λόγων παιδείας, μισθὸν ἐτήσιον φέροντας*; and Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, lib. 12, c. 3: *Ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας ὁ Μάρκος τιμάς τε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔνειμε καὶ διδασκάλους ἐπὶ πάσης παιδείας ἔταξε, μισθὸν ἐτήσιον ἐκ τοῦ ταμείου κομιζομένους.*

[3] Lucian., *Eunuch.*, c. 3: *Συντέτακται μὲν, ὦ Πάμφιλε, ὡς οἶσθα, ἐκ βασιλέως μισθοφορά τις οὐ φαύλη κατὰ γένη τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, Στωϊκοῖς λέγω καὶ Πλατωνικοῖς καὶ Ἐπικουρείοις, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου, τὰ ἴσα τούτοις ἅπασιν*; and Philostrat., *Vit. Sophist.*, lib. 2, c. 2: *Τοὺς μὲν Πλατωνείους καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Περιπάτου καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἐπικούρου προσέταξεν ὁ Μάρκος, κ. τ. λ.*

[4] Philostrat., *Vit. Sophist.*, lib. 2, c. 2: *Προῦστη δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων νεότητος πρῶτος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκ βασιλέως μυρίαις.*

[5] Lucian., *Eunuch.*, c. 3: *Καὶ τὰ ἄθλα, οὐ βοείη τις ἦν κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν οὐδὲ ἱερήϊον, ἀλλὰ μύριαι κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ἐφ' ὅτῳ συνεῖναι τοῖς νέοις.*

[6] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 26: *Omnibus orientalibus prouinciis carissimus fuit.*

[7] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 27: *Reuertens ad Italiam nauigio tempestatem grauissimam passus est.* This voyage appears to be marked by coins in

injury, and at once, casting aside his own military garments, ordered the soldiers to follow his example and clothe themselves in their ordinary citizens' attire.[1] This would seem to show that, however peaceful his purpose in travelling through the East, he had been attended by a part of his army, and had journeyed in his military habiliments.

Soon after his arrival at Rome the Emperor procured the passage of a law by which no one was allowed to obtain *imperium* in his native province.[2] This law was undoubtedly the direct consequence of the revolt of Cassius. The experience of the last year had proved conclusively that the provinces were growing too independent of the central government, and the new law was framed to meet this danger. It must not be supposed that the regulation was at all intended to restrict the provinces in the management of their own local affairs. It had reference only to officers who were clothed with *imperium*, that is, to the deputies chosen by the Emperor. The same rule, however, did apply to the managers of the *fiscus*.[3] Another measure, likewise a consequence of the revolt of Cassius, was enacted about this time. We have already had occasion to observe the clemency

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Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 64 and 105, which, however, were not stamped until the following year.

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 27: *Per Brundisium ueniens in Italiam togam et ipse sumpsit et milites togatos esse iussit. nec umquam sagati fuerunt sub eo milites.*

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 31: Ἐνομοθετήθη δὲ τότε, μηδένα ἐν τῷ ἔθνει, ὅθεν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐστὶν, ἄρχειν, ὅτι ὁ Κάσσιος ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ, τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ ἔχούσῃ, ἡγεμονεύων ἐνεόχμωσεν. This necessity of asserting the authority of Rome seems to have been specially emphasized by Pescennius Niger, one of Marcus's legates. Spartianus, *Pescen. Nig.*, c. 7: *Hic tantae fuit auctoritatis, ut ad Marcum primum deinde ad Commodum scriberet, cum uideret prouincias facili administrationum mutatione subuerti . . . huius etiam illud fuit, ut nemo adsideret in sua prouincia, nemo administraret Romae nisi Romanus, hoc est oriundus urbe.* The meaning of this passage and its relation to the enactment of Marcus are discussed by Dirksen, *Die Script. hist. Aug.*, pp. 206–16.

[3] Paul., *Sent. ad fil.*, lib. 5, tit. 12, c. 5: *In ea prouincia, ex qua quis originem ducit, officium fiscale administrare prohibetur, ne aut gratiosus aut calumniosus apud suos esse uideatur.*

of Marcus towards the conspirators, and have spoken of his request to the senate that no senator should be put to death during the remainder of his reign. On returning to Rome he found that his leniency had been misunderstood. There was, he saw, a danger of treating conspirators with too great mildness. He therefore hastened to counteract the impression which his kindness had produced, and passed a law by which a traitor's property could be confiscated, even after his death, on proof of his participation in the conspiracy.[1]

The year immediately succeeding the Emperor's return to Rome was an eventful one in the career of Commodus. On the 7th of July, 176, the young prince laid aside the toga of his boyhood, being then not quite fifteen years of age.[2] We

[1] Iustinian., *Cod.*, lib. 9, tit. 8, c. 6: *Paulus de publicis iudiciis. Meminisse oportebit, si quid contra maiestatem imperatoris commissum dicatur, etiam post mortem rei id crimen instaurari solere, posteaquam diuus Marcus Depitiani utpote senatoris, qui Cassiani furoris socius fuerat, bona post mortem fisco uindicari iussit et nostro tempore multis heredibus ablata sunt. In hoc item crimine, quod ad laesam maiestatem imperatoris pertinet, etiam in caput domini seruos torqueri. Marcianus libro primo de publicis iudiciis titulo ad legem Iuliam maiestatis. Post diui Marci constitutionem hoc iure uti coepimus, ut etiam post mortem nocentium hoc crimen inchoari possit, ut conuicto mortuo memoria eius damnetur et bona eius successoribus eripiantur: nam ex quo sceleratissimum quis consilium cepit, exiude quodammodo sua mente punitus est.* Dirksen, *Die Script. hist. Aug.*, pp. 260–8, identifies the Depitianus here mentioned with Druentianus, the son-in-law of Cassius, of whom we have already spoken. The manuscripts of the *Codex* differ considerably with regard to this name, but none of them read Druentianus.

[2] According to Capitolinus (*M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 22: *Filio Commodo, accersito ad limitem, togam uirilem dedit*) and Lampridius (*Commod. Ant.*, c. 2: *Indutus autem toga est nonarum Iuliarum die quo in terris Romulus non apparuit et eo tempore quo Cassius a Marco desciuit*) it would seem that he assumed the toga when summoned by his father to the frontier in the spring of 175. This would, however, have been impossible; for the boy was then only thirteen years of age, whereas the usual time was on the completion of the fourteenth year. See Iustinian., *Inst.*, lib. 1, tit. 22; and Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, lib. 7, c. 7, § 6. Moreover, on the 7th of July, 175, Commodus was, as we have seen, in Pannonia; but it was usual, especially in the cases of great personages, for the youth on this

are told, too, that on taking the *toga uirilis* he was chosen *princeps iuuentutis* in the body of Roman knights.[1] And it was on this occasion also that he first sat on the tribunal in the Basilica of Trajan, though at the early age at which he then was this must have been merely a formal act.[2] Probably these events constituted the subject of the oration which Marcus delivered before the people. In the course of this speech he mentioned his many years' absence from the city. "Eight" shouted out the multitude, raising their fingers to designate the number. Whereupon the Emperor smiled, and, saying "eight then," distributed eight gold pieces to each man, a larger sum than had ever been granted them before."[3] A

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occasion to be accompanied by his family and friends to the Forum, and for a public sacrifice to be offered up in the capitol. A special difficulty offers itself to the theory that Commodus took on the *toga uirilis* in 175; for we are told in Lampridius, *Commod. Ant.*, c. 1, that upon this event he took his seat for the first time on the tribunal in the Basilica of Trajan, which would have been ridiculous in a boy only thirteen years of age. Capitolinus, *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 22, and Lampridius, *Commod. Ant.*, c. 1, record that on his throwing off the *toga praetexta* a *congiarium* was distributed to the soldiers; and it seems to have been this fact that misled the biographers. There was a *congiarium* in 175, as we have seen; but there was another in 176 (not marked on the coins till the year 177. See Eckhel, v. 7, p. 64); and it was the latter that was given in commemoration of Commodus's taking up the *toga uirilis.* The truth of the whole matter is undoubtedly given in a passage in Lampridius, which fixes the date of Commodus's puberty at July 7, 176. Lamprid., *Commod. Ant.*, c. 12: *Togam uirilem accepit cum patre appellatus imperator V. kal. Exsuperatorias Pollione iterum et Apro consulibus.*

[1] Lamprid., *Commod. Ant.*, c. 1: *Cooptatus est inter trossulos princeps iuuentutis cum togam sumpsit. adhuc in praetexta puerili, etc.* See also Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 104–5.

[2] Lamprid., *Commod. Ant.*, c. 1: *Adhuc in praetexta puerili . . . atque ipse in basilica Traiani praesedit.*

[3] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 32: Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον διαλεγόμενος, ἐπειδὴ μεταξὺ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ ὅτι πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἀποδεδημηκὼς ἦν, ἀνεβόησαν, "Οκτώ·" καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ χρυσοῦς τοσούτους ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον λάβωσι, προσενεδείξαντο· διεμειδίασε, καὶ ἔφη καὶ αὐτὸς, "Οκτώ." καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνὰ διακοσίας δραχμὰς αὐτοῖς κατένειμεν, ὅσον οὔπω πρότερον εἰλήφεσαν; and *Dionis excerpta;* edid. Angelo Mai [*in his* Scriptorum ueterum noua collectio e Vaticanis codicibus. Romae,

few months later, on the 27th of November, 176, Commodus received the title of *Imperator*.[1] Then followed, on the 23d of December, the triumph of Marcus and his son, on which occasion the Emperor gave a magnificent exhibition to the people; and he made this another opportunity of moderating the gladiatorial sports.[2] It was on the day of their triumph that Marcus shared the title of *pater patriae* with his son.[3] At the same time, apparently, Commodus began his tribunician

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1825–38. 10v. 4°. v. 2, pp. 135–233], c. 107: "Οτι ἐξελθὼν ὁ Μάρκος ἀπελογεῖτο τῷ δήμῳ, ὡς πολλοῖς τοῖς ἔτεσιν ἀποδεδημηκὼς τῆς Ῥώμης· οἱ δὲ ἐπέκραζον ὀκτώ, καὶ τοῖς δακτύλοις ἐδείκνυον· ὀκτὼ γὰρ ἔτεσιν ἔτυχεν ἀποδημῶν. οἱ δὲ ἠνίττοντο ὡς κατὰ ὀκτὼ χρυσοὺς ληψόμενοι· ὅπερ αἰσθόμενος ὁ Μάρκος μειδιάσας ἔφη, καὶ ὀκτώ· καὶ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ ὀκτὼ χρυσούς. The eight years here spoken of cannot refer to the length of time since the Emperor had last visited Rome; for he had been in Rome in 174, and had also spent the greater part of the year 169 there. They can, therefore, only be meant to designate the whole time during which the people were deprived of their Emperor's presence. Now, he had been away a year and nine months (from the spring of 167 to the winter of 169) during the first Marcomannic war; he set out for the second Marcomannic war in the autumn of 169, and returned from the East in the summer of 176, giving us a period of six years and nine months; the sum of these two absences is eight years and six months, showing clearly that the length of his stay in 174 was six months. This *congiarium* distributed at the time of Commodus's reaching manhood is spoken of by Capitolinus, *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 22: *Togam uirilem dedit, quare congiarium populo diuisit;* and by Lampridius, *Commod. Ant.*, c. 1: *Adhuc in praetexta puerili congiarium dedit.* On the coins which have come down to us we do not find it marked till 177. See Eckhel, v. 7, p. 64.

[1] Lamprid., *Commod. Ant.*, c. 2: *Imperator est appellatus V. kal. Dec. die Pollione et Apro consulibus.* Lampridius falls into error when he attempts to use the names which Commodus gave to the different months; for in c. 12 he makes this event occur on the fifth day before the calends of *Exsuperatorium* (November), i. e., Oct. 28.

[2] Lamprid., *Commod. Ant.*, c. 12: *Pollione iterum et Apro consulibus. triumphauit X. kal. Ianuarias isdem consulibus.* The exhibition is mentioned in Eutropius, *Breuiar. hist. Roman.*, lib. 8, c. 14: *In editione munerum post uictoriam adeo magnificus fuit, ut centum simul leones exhibuisse tradatur.* Marcus's action with reference to the gladiatorial sports is spoken of in Capitolinus, *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 27: *Dedit et spectacula mirifica. dein ciuilia multa correxit. gladiatorii muneris sumptus modum fecit.*

[3] Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 63 and 107.

power.[1] On the conclusion of these public acts the Emperor obtained a little respite, and withdrew to the quiet of Lavinium.[2] Commodus now, Jan. 1, 177, entered for the first time upon the duties of consul, at an extremely early age.[3] Indeed, he was so young that he could only be made consul by obtaining a special exemption from the *lex annaria*.[4] In the course of this same year the Emperor, fearing that his presence would soon be needed again in Pannonia, hastened to find a wife for Commodus.[5] The woman he selected was Crispina, daughter of L. Fulvius Bruttius Præsens, who had already been once *consul suffectus*.[6] The ceremony was entirely without osten-

[1] I say apparently; for there is much confusion in regard to the tribunician years of Commodus. At the time of Commodus's death, Dec. 31, 192, his 18th tribunician year was current, which would make the first year begin before Dec. 31, 175. But, in 191, all his coins are marked TR. XVI., which would make the first tribunician year run from Jan. 1, 176, to Jan. 1, 177. This is the order preserved through the greater part of his reign. Going back still farther we find that the coins marked COS. (i. e., 177) bear some of them TR. P. and some of them TR. P. II., which would make the first year begin some time during the course of the year 176. Finally, we read in Capitolinus that his tribuniciate did not begin till after the triumph, Dec. 23, 176. Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 27: *Romam ut uenit triumphauit. exinde Lauinium profectus est. Commodum deinde sibi collegam in tribuniciam potestatem iunxit.* The probable solution of this difficulty is that the earlier authorities are the more correct; that Commodus was appointed colleague in the tribuniciate on the 23d of Dec., 176, on the day of the triumph; that since he had been designated as consul for the coming year, some coins were struck off between Dec. 23, 176, and Jan. 1, 177, with the inscription TR. P. COS.; and that on the 1st of Jan., 177, in order that his tribunician years might coincide with the consulate, he began with TR. P. II. This question is discussed in Eckhel, v. 8, pp. 417–21; in Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 179; and in Cohen, *Descrip. hist. des monnaies frappées sous l'Emp. Rom.*, v. 3, p. 52.

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 27: *Exinde Lauinium profectus est.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 22: *Eum ante tempus consulem designauit.*

[4] Lampridius, *Commod. Ant.*, c. 2: *Venia legis annariae impetrata consul est factus.*

[5] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 33: Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ Σκυθικὰ αὖθις αὐτοῦ ἐδεήθη, γυναῖκα τῷ υἱεῖ θᾶττον δι' αὐτὰ ἢ ἐβούλετο Κρισπίναν συνῴκισεν.

[6] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 27: *Filio suo Bruttii Praesentis filiam iunxit.* That Præsens had been already *consul suffectus* appears from the fact

tation, but Marcus distributed another *congiarium* to the people in commemoration of the marriage of their future ruler.[1]

The period which now followed was one of great prosperity for the Empire. In the course of the year 177 further victories were gained by the army left in Pannonia under the Quintilii. Whereupon Marcus received the title of *Imperator IX.* and Commodus was hailed as *Imperator II.*[2] The plague was now apparently at an end; and the financial status of the Empire had been restored to a sound condition by the prudent management of Marcus. The Emperor therefore sought to relieve in every way the burdened provinces.[3] Among other things, we are told that he remitted all the unpaid taxes which had accrued since the year 132.[4] About the same time, probably in 178, Smyrna was seriously injured by an earthquake; but Marcus did not allow the inhabitants to suffer. It is recorded that the old Stoic Aristides, whom Marcus had met in Smyrna, presented such a mournful picture of the destruction that the Emperor's eyes were filled with tears, and he undertook at once the restoration of the city.[5] With

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that a few years later, in 180, we find him consul for the second time. He must not be confused with the C. Bruttius Præsens who was consul in 153. The date of the marriage is fixed to 177 by coins in Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 106–7. See also an inscription in Mommsen, *Inscr. reg. Neap. Latin.*, *no.* 271, of the year 177, which Noël des Vergers, in his *Essai sur Marc-Aurèle*, p. 132, regards as made in commemoration of the marriage of Crispina.

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 27: *Nuptiis celebratis exemplo priuatorum. quare etiam congiarium dedit populo.*

[2] Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 64 and 107.

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 23: *Tributa uel uectigalia ubi necessitas cogebat remisit;* and Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, lib. 12, c. 3: Ὀφλουσι τῷ βασιλικῷ ταμείῳ καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ πᾶσιν ἀφῆκε τὰς ὀφειλάς. πόλεσί τε χρήματα δέδωκεν.

[4] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 32: Τοῖς ὀφείλουσί τε τῷ βασιλικῷ καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ, πᾶσι πάντα τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἀφῆκεν, ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἓξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, χωρὶς τῶν ἑκκαίδεκα τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ· καὶ πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν γράμματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καυθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν; and Orosius, *Hist. aduers. Pagan.*, lib. 7, c. 15, § 12: *Praeteriti etiam temporis per omnes prouincias tributa donauit omniaque simul fiscalium negotiorum calumniosa monumenta congesta in foro iussit incendi.*

[5] Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.*, lib. 2, c. 9, § 2: Τὴν γὰρ πόλιν ταύτην ἀφανισθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σεισμῶν τε καὶ χασμάτων οὕτω τι ὠλοφύρατο πρὸς τὸν Μάρκον, ὡς τῇ

these works of benevolence the Emperor employed his time at Rome, while the army was preparing for another war.

μὲν ἄλλῃ μονῳδίᾳ θαμὰ ἐπιστενάξαι τὸν βασιλέα, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ "ζέφυροι δὲ ἐρήμην καταπνέουσι" καὶ δάκρυα τῷ βιβλίῳ ἐπιστάξαι τὸν βασιλέα ξυνοικίαν τε τῇ πόλει ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἀριστείδου ἐνδοσίμων νεῦσαι; Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 32: *Χρήματά τε πολλαῖς πόλεσιν ἔδωκεν, ἐν αἷς καὶ τῇ Σμύρνῃ δεινῶς ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ φθαρείσῃ· καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ βουλευτῇ ἐστρατηγηκότι ἀνοικοδομῆσαι προσέταξεν*; and Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, lib. 12, c. 3: *Τὴν Σμύρναν ὑπὸ σείσμου παθοῦσαν ἀνοικοδομηθῆναι προσέταξεν.*

Chapter VI.

THE WAR WITH THE MARCOMANNI (THIRD PERIOD).—THE "THOUGHTS."—DEATH. A.D. 178–180.

Departure for the North.—Policy of the Emperor.—The *Thoughts*.—Sickness of Marcus.—His Last Words —Death.

It is scarcely to be supposed that, when the Emperor departed from Pannonia for his journey through the East, he anticipated a speedy cessation of the disturbances along the northern frontier. A war so vigorous and so protracted as that which the imperial forces had been waging for the past ten years could not be easily forgotten. The real significance of the commotion among the barbarian nations, though perhaps not fully realized by the soldiers, could not fail to impress itself upon the minds of those in power. The writers of the time do not, to be sure, emphasize the importance of the new force which was gathering in the North so much as we might expect; but there can be no question that the Emperor himself, as well as a good many of his generals, was fully alive to the danger which was destined in future reigns to threaten the very existence of the Empire. Whatever, then, the feelings of the people when they learned, in the summer of 178, that their ruler must leave them for the seat of war once more, the news cannot, at any rate, have caused the Emperor much surprise.

The generals who had been left in charge of the army were Sextus Quintilius Condianus and his brother, Sextus Quintilius Maximus. That they were men of great wealth and influence is evident from the ruins of their splendid villa, which are still to be seen in the Campagna, near Rome. They

were, too, generals of no mean ability.[1] But apparently they had not the personal magnetism requisite to keep together the discontented forces. It is not recorded that they suffered any disastrous defeats while the soldiers were under their command; we are merely told in somewhat general terms that their success was slight.[2] And so, in the summer of 178, they wrote to Rome to implore the presence of the Emperors.[3] Before setting out Marcus performed an act which portrays in a striking manner either the personal modesty of the man, or the respect he felt for what he deemed the people's rights. Although, in accordance with the prerogative usurped by his predecessors, he was at liberty to take from the treasury whatever sums were needed for carrying on the war, he nevertheless submitted so far to the will of the senate as to lay before them a petition soliciting an appropriation for that purpose.[4] In the oration which he delivered on this occasion, he declared that "An emperor has nothing which is private. Even the house in which he lives belongs to you."[5] The appropriation was granted. And now there was only one thing more to do. Marcus, still reluctant to renounce the superstitions of his fathers, and perhaps, too, with a view to encouraging his followers, performed a final sacrifice before his departure; and then, moistening his spear-point with the blood of the sacrificial bull, he hurled it in the direction of the enemy on the frontier, in token of the victory which the army was to win.[6]

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[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 33: Καίπερ δύο τε ὄντες, καὶ φρόνημα καὶ ἀνδρίαν ἐμπειρίαν τε πολλὴν ἔχοντες.

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 33: Οἱ γὰρ Κυϊντίλιοι οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν. . . . τὸν πόλεμον παῦσαι.

[3] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 33: Καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀναγκαίως αὐτοὶ οἱ αὐτοκράτορες ἐξεστράτευσαν.

[4] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 33: Ὁ δὲ Μάρκος καὶ χρήματα ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ᾔτησε τὴν βουλήν, οὐχ ὅτι μὴ ἔκειντο ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐξουσίᾳ, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὁ Μάρκος πάντα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ τἄλλα ἔλεγεν εἶναι; and Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, lib. 12, c. 3: Καὶ χρήματα ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ᾔτησε· πάντα γὰρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἔλεγεν εἶναι.

[5] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 33: "Ἡμεῖς γάρ, ἔφη, (πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν λέγων) οὕτως οὐδὲν ἴδιον ἔχομεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ οἰκίᾳ οἰκοῦμεν."

[6] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 33: Τὸ δόρυ τὸ αἱματώδες παρὰ τῷ Ἐννείῳ ἐς τὸ

This done, he left the city in company with his son, August 3, 178, on an expedition from which he was never to return.[1]

The third period of the Marcomannic war, though less eventful than either of those which had preceded it, was far richer in advantages to the Empire. The precautions which had been taken during the last few years to protect the frontier from the assaults of the barbarians were beginning to produce a beneficial effect. So little, however, is really known about the status of the German tribes at this time that it would not be safe to assert positively how much is to be attributed to the measures which the Emperor had adopted. It may well be that the internal causes which gave rise to the commotion during the earlier years of the reign of Marcus Aurelius had for the present ceased. But, whatever the reason, there can be no question that his efforts were accompanied by a proportionate relaxation in the inroads of the barbarians; so that the third period of the Marcomannic war was occupied with but few battles, and those few of no very serious nature. The presence of the Emperors was needed not so much to spur the soldiers on to the encounter, as to keep the discontented army together, and to supervise the political management of the provinces. It must not be supposed, however, that the period was utterly devoid of warlike features. There is reason to believe that the attitude of the imperial forces was throughout one of armed hostility. But their method was in the main to subdue the enemy by a continual display of power, rather than by marching forcibly into the barbarian territories. The Emperors seem to have taken up their quarters at various points along the frontier in order that they might the more easily receive the overtures of peace which were made to them from time to time. Occasionally this pacific life was interrupted by some uprising of the enemy. For example, we are told that one tribe, to whom

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πολέμιον δὴ χωρίον (ὡς γε καὶ τῶν συγγενομένων αὐτῷ ἤκουσα) ἀκοντίσας, ἐξωρμήθη.

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 27: *Dein ad conficiendum bellum conuersus;* and Lampridius, *Commod. Ant.*, c. 12: *Iterum profectus III. non Commodias Orfito et Rufo consulibus.*

Marcus had granted territory near Ravenna, rebelled and took possession of that city; whereupon the Emperor, regretting his former leniency, removed all the barbarians from Italy.[1] It is also said that he succeeded in keeping back some of the German tribes by the aid of their neighbors, whom he employed as mercenaries.[2] To the Iazyges and Buri, who on one occasion sent ambassadors to him, asking him to remit some of the burdens imposed upon them, he replied that he would show them no mercy unless they would render aid to the Romans.[3] This seems to have been done in the end; for we find that he did remit some of their burdens. He did not remove the stipulations in regard to their commerce; they were still prohibited from using boats of their own, and from landing on the islands in the Danube. But he granted them the right to pass through Dacia in order to trade with the Roxolani, whenever the governor of that province should permit.[4] The Quadi continued to give some trouble. They found the restrictions placed on them, and the castles erected in their land, so disagreeable that they attempted to migrate in a body to the Semnones.[5] If this had been all

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 11: Καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ τινὲς οἰκοῦντες ἐνεωτέρισαν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασχεῖν τολμῆσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐκέτ' ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὐδένα τῶν βαρβάρων ἐσήγαγεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προαφιγμένους ἐξῴκισεν.

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 11: Πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τότε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθον, οἱ μὲν συμμαχίας ὑπισχνούμενοι, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Βαττάριος παῖς ἐτῶν ιβ', καὶ χρήματά τε ἔλαβον, καὶ Τάρβον δυνάστην πλησιόχωρον σφῶν, ἔς τε τὴν Δακίαν ἐλθόντα, καὶ ἀργύριον αἰτοῦντα, ἀπειλοῦντά τε πολεμήσειν, εἰ μὴ λάβοι, ἀνεῖρξαν.

[3] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 18: Οἱ δὲ Ἰάζυγες ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, καὶ ᾔτησαν τινὰ ἀφεθῆναι σφίσιν ἐκ τῶν ὠμολογημένων· καὶ συνεχωρήθησάν τινα αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ παντελῶς ἀλλοτριωθῶσιν. οὐ μέντοι πρότερον οὔτε οὗτοι, οὔτε οἱ βοῦρροι συμμαχῆσαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἠθέλησαν, πρὶν πίστεις παρὰ Μάρκου λαβεῖν, ἢ μὴν μέχρι παντὸς τῷ πολέμῳ χρήσεσθαι.

[4] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 19: Καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ Ἰάζυγες χρησιμώτατοι αὐτῷ ἐγίγνοντο, πολλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σφίσιν ἀφῆκε, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντα· πλὴν τῶν κατά τε τὰς συνόδους αὐτῶν, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιμιξίας συγκειμένων, τό, τε μὴ ἰδίοις πλοίοις σφᾶς χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὸ τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἴστρῳ ἀπέχεσθαι. καὶ ἐφῆκεν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Ῥοξολάνους διὰ τῆς Δακίας ἐπιμίγνυσθαι, ὁσάκις ἂν ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῆς ἐπιτρέψῃ σφίσιν.

[5] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 20: Ὥστε καὶ Κουάδους μὴ φέροντας τὸν ἐπιτειχισμὸν, μεταναστῆναι πανδημεὶ πρὸς Σεμνόνας ἐπιχειρῆσαι.

it would have been a benefit to the Romans. But there seem to have been other facts connected with this migration; for the Emperors at once despatched a force to cut off the Quadi and prevent the intended journey.[1] Probably the most serious encounter of this period took place in the year 179. Which of the barbarian tribes were engaged in it we are not told; but the leader on the Roman side was Tarruntenus Paternus, of whom we have already spoken.[2] The battle was a protracted one. The barbarians fought with their accustomed stubbornness; and it was not till the day was over that they gave way. But in the end the Roman victory was complete; and the enemy's forces were entirely cut to pieces.[3] Marcus was now hailed as *Imperator X.*, and Commodus was granted at the same time the title of *Imperator III.*[4] After this event the Emperors retired again to their headquarters, and continued their negotiations with the German tribes.

An opportunity was thus afforded the Emperor for completing his *Thoughts*, a work which will render his name famous long after his wars with the Marcomanni have been forgotten. I have not hesitated to quote it at various periods of his career; for the suggestions contained in these *Thoughts* were undoubtedly the principles by which his whole life was governed; but it seems likely that no portion of the work was actually written in his younger days. The later chapters were apparently not compiled until a short time before his death.[5] Just as there is a considerable difference in

[1] Dion Cassius, lib 71, c. 20: Ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος προμαθὼν τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, τὰς διόδους ἀποφράξας, ἐκώλυσεν.

[2] See above, p. 213.

[3] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 33: Τῷ Πατέρνῳ δοὺς χεῖρα μεγάλην, ἔπεμψεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν τῆς μάχης ἀγῶνα. καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἀντέτειναν μὲν διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἁπάσης, κατεκόπησαν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάντες.

[4] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 33: Ὁ Μάρκος τὸ δέκατον αὐτοκράτωρ προσηγορεύθη. This passage, coming immediately after the description of the battle, fixes the date of the battle to the year 179, when these titles were conferred. See Eckhel, v. 7, pp. 65 and 108.

[5] The authorship of this work has never been disputed. A number of passages in it prove beyond all possibility of doubt that it was written by the Emperor himself. In lib. 6, c. 26, he speaks of himself

time between the compilation of the earlier and of the later books, so there seems to have been a difference in their purpose. The first two or three books consist almost entirely of entries jotted down in spare moments snatched from the duties of the office or the camp. The sentences are thrown together without the slightest care, in such a way that it is often impossible for us to be sure of the exact meaning intended by the writer. Here there is no verb, there the whole sentence is left incomplete—an idea is suggested to the mind, and we are left to follow out the meaning by ourselves. In the order, too, there is no regularity. Just as the thoughts occurred to him they are written down, and it is sometimes odd to notice in what strange company an idea is placed.[1] Evidently, the writer had at first no intention of showing the book to others. He is merely meditating with himself. In one place he says, speaking of Antoninus Pius, "We know how he behaved to

under the name of Antoninus; and again in lib. 6, c. 44, this time in such a way as to show that he is Emperor. In lib. 6, c. 30, he calls himself a disciple of Antoninus (i. e., Pius). In lib. 10, c. 27, he speaks of the experience which he has had in the court of Hadrian and Antoninus; and in lib. 10, c. 31, he compares himself with other "Cæsars." Finally, he recounts in the first book a number of incidents which we know from other sources to have been incidents in the life of Marcus Aurelius. With regard to the date of the work, it seems clear that no portion of it was written before 169; for, as we have seen, it was not till that year that he could call the philosopher Severus his "brother." See *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 14. Again, in lib. 2, c. 2, he says, "Thou art an old man;" and in lib. 2, c. 6, "Every man's life is sufficient. But thine is nearly finished." Perhaps, therefore, this book was written in the course of the second or third Marcomannic war. And this hypothesis is supported by the fact that the first book is dated *Among the Quadi at the Granua*, and the second *This in Carnuntum*. The seventh and eleventh books are full of quotations from other writers—a fact which would seem to show that they were composed when the Emperor was surrounded by his books; perhaps during his stay in Rome before the third Marcomannic war. The twelfth book should probably be assigned to a period shortly before his death, chiefly because of the retrospective manner of its termination. When the work was first given to the world is not known. None of the contemporary writers mention it. Indeed, the first writer who seems to have been aware of its existence is Suidas, of the eleventh century.

[1] Cf. lib. 4, c. 5 and 6; and lib. 4, c. 27 and 28.

the toll-collector in Tusculum, who asked his pardon;"[1] but he does not let us hear the story. The book was written solely for his own consolation, written in his stronger moments, to uphold him in the hour of trial. As the work progresses, however, it grows more systematic; the quotations become more frequent; the thoughts are often studied; and we begin to feel that the Emperor has in mind a succeeding generation —perhaps his own son Commodus. And yet the book retains throughout the same purity and grace. It is the mirror of a soul overflowing with love for humanity.

We shall now try to systematize, as far as possible, the *Thoughts*, in order to bring the various portions of the work into one connected whole. Its aim, as we have already seen, was essentially a moral one. In this the Emperor proved himself a true disciple of the Stoics, whose whole philosophy was based on an ethical principle, and took its shape from that fact. They sought to inculcate a practical morality, and all phenomena were of importance to them solely as bearing on this problem. What is a good life? was the question which they asked; and this was the question which Marcus Aurelius sought to answer. The most comprehensive answer he offers is that a good life is a life guided by the principles of philosophy. "What, then," he asks, "is that which is able to conduct a man? One thing, and only one—philosophy."[2] He does not, to be sure, maintain that philosophy can solve all his doubts. He himself says that "things are in such a kind of envelopment that they have seemed to philosophers —not a few, nor those common philosophers—altogether unintelligible; nay, even to the Stoics themselves, they seem difficult to understand."[3] But, as far as man can know the truth, philosophy must be his guide. It is, therefore, important for us to know in what sense he uses this term, philosophy. Does he mean the metaphysical subtleties which have perplexed the world from the time of Thales to our own days? Far from it. Expressly rejecting all philosophy of this description, he thanks the gods "that, when he had an inclina-

[1] Lib. 1, c. 16. [2] Lib. 2, c. 17. [3] Lib. 5, c. 10.

tion to philosophy, he did not fall into the hands of any sophist, and that he did not waste his time on writers of histories, or in the solution of syllogisms."[1] A philosophical life was to Marcus Aurelius nothing more nor less than a life in accordance with nature.[2] This is the fundamental truth of his whole system. He who lives such a life reaches the highest point that man can attain. What a life in accordance with nature is each man must learn for himself. It is a knowledge that can be acquired, and it can be taught. He himself thanks the gods "that he received clear and frequent impressions about living according to nature, and what kind of a life that is, so that, so far as depended on the gods, and their gifts and help and inspirations, nothing hindered him from forthwith living according to nature," "though," he continues, "I still fall short of it through my own fault, and through not observing the admonitions of the gods."[3] From this it follows naturally that all sin is the result of ignorance; or, as he expresses it, "that men do wrong involuntarily."[4] This fact should always be present to our minds when we form our estimate of men. "Begin the morning by saying to thyself, I shall meet with the busybody, the ungrateful, the arrogant, the deceitful, the envious, the unsocial. All these things happen to them by reason of their ignorance of what is good and evil."[5] And again: "Every soul, the philosopher says, is involuntarily deprived of truth; consequently, in the same way it is deprived of justice and temperance and benevolence, and everything of the kind. It is most necessary to bear this constantly in mind, for thus thou wilt be more gentle towards all."[6] "Men exist for the sake of one another. Teach them, then, or bear with them."[7] "Enter into every man's ruling faculty, and also let every other man enter into thine."[8]

The law of nature being, then, the proper field of study for mankind, we should seek to discover in what this law consists. The answer is plain: it consists of three things—the law of

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[1] Lib. 1, c. 17; cf. lib. 7, c. 67. [2] Lib. 2, c. 17. [3] Lib. 1, c. 17.
[4] Lib. 4, c. 3. [5] Lib. 2, c. 1. [6] Lib. 7, c. 63. [7] Lib. 8, c. 59.
[8] Lib. 8, c. 61.

one's own nature, the social law, and the law of God. And, first, with reference to the law of one's own nature. Man consists of three parts: body, breath, and intelligence.[1] "To the body belong sensations, to the soul appetites, to the intelligence principles."[2] "Of these, the first two are thine, so far as it is thy duty to take care of them; but the third alone is properly thine."[3] "The third, then, is the ruling part."[4] Thus we see how he subordinates the soul to the intelligence. He has but a single word to signify breath, life, and soul; and, indeed, he makes no distinction between them. The soul is merely the principle of life, which man possesses in common with beasts.[5] The conception of a soul such as we recognize to-day is quite foreign to the Emperor's philosophy. And yet, at times, he seems to have caught a glimmer of a deeper meaning in the soul than he had at first suspected. Once he goes so far as to say that the soul is not acted upon; it merely acts.[6] In another passage he does not seem to distinguish between the mind and soul. He says: "Such as are thy habitual thoughts, such also will be the character of thy mind; for the soul is dyed by the thoughts."[7] And, still again, he attempts to convey his vague idea by forming a combination of the reason and the soul. Wood, stones, etc., he says, are held together by cohesion, or natural organization, flocks and herds by a living principle, and men by a "rational soul."[8] And yet there can be no question that, in the main, his idea of the soul was that it had a material character. This being so, it would naturally follow that he would not attribute immortality to the soul as delineated in his system; but this denial he was by no means ready to make. It was a question which he always looked upon as open to inquiry. At one time he asks himself, "If souls continue to exist, how does the air contain them from eternity?" And then this material way of looking at the problem strikes him as so ridiculous that he meets it with the counter-thought, "But how does the earth

[1] Lib. 12, c. 3; and lib. 2, c. 2. [2] Lib. 3, c. 16. [3] Lib. 12, c. 3.
[4] Lib. 2, c. 2. [5] Lib. 9, c. 9. [6] Lib. 5, c. 19. [7] Lib. 5, c. 16.
[8] Lib. 6, c. 14.

contain the bodies of those who have been buried from time so remote?"[1] As a proof of the uncertainty he felt, compare this remark: "Everything which belongs to the body is a stream, and what belongs to the soul is a dream and vapor, and life is a warfare and stranger's sojourn, and after-fame is oblivion;"[2] and this: "Thou existest as a part. Thou shalt disappear in that which produced thee; but, rather, thou shalt be received back into its seminal principle,"[3] with the following: "I am composed of the formal and the material; and neither of them will perish into non-existence, as neither of them came into existence out of non-existence."[4] But the attitude which he takes, in the main, is one of ignorance. "Alexander the Macedonian and his groom, by death, were brought to the same state; for either they were received among the same seminal principles of the universe, or they were alike dispersed among the atoms."[5] "About death: whether it is a dispersion, or a resolution into atoms, or annihilation, it is either extinction or change."[6] And then there follow some exquisite passages on the vanity of things. "All things soon pass away and become a mere tale, and complete oblivion soon buries them."[7] "As soon as they have breathed out their breath they are gone, and no man speaks of them."[8] "Time is like a river, made up of the events which happen, and a violent stream; for as soon as a thing has been seen it is carried away, and another comes in its place, and this will be carried away too."[9] "Substance is like a river in a continual flow, and the activities of things are in constant change, and the causes work in infinite varieties; and there is hardly anything which stands still. And consider this which is near to thee, this boundless abyss of the past and of the future, in which all things disappear."[10] And then, in the midst of all this gloom, he offers us some words of consolation, which rise in parts almost to the grandeur of the *Psalms*. Death is, to be sure, a mystery; but still it is one of the operations of nat-

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[1] Lib. 4, c. 21. [2] Lib. 2, c. 17. [3] Lib. 4, c. 14. [4] Lib. 5, c. 13.
[5] Lib. 6, c. 24. [6] Lib 7, c. 32; cf. lib 2, c 12, and lib. 12, c. 5.
[7] Lib. 4, c. 33. [8] Lib. 4, c. 33. [9] Lib. 4, c. 43. [10] Lib. 5, c. 23.

ure, and so should be no cause of dread. "Death is such as generation is — a mystery of nature; a composition out of the same elements, and a decomposition into the same; and, altogether, not a thing of which any man should be ashamed, for it is conformable to the nature of a reasonable animal, and not contrary to the reason of our constitution."[1] Then comes a masterly argument against regret at dying. The argument appears to be based on the belief that there is no personal existence of the soul hereafter; and, to unbelievers in the immortality of the soul, probably no more perfect consolation was ever offered than in these words of Marcus: "Though thou shouldest be going to live three thousand years, and as many times ten thousand years, still remember that no man loses any other life than this which he now lives, nor lives any other than this which he now loses. The longest and shortest are thus brought to the same. . . . For the present is the only thing of which a man can be deprived, if it is true that this is the only thing which he has, and that a man cannot lose a thing if he has it not."[2] In another place he says, "Do not act as if thou wert going to live ten thousand years. Death hangs over thee. While thou livest, while it is in thy power, be good."[3] Lastly come the words, "Why, then, dost thou not wait in tranquillity for thy end, whether it is extinction or removal to another state?"[4]

Tranquillity. This was the acme of Stoic virtue. We scarcely find in any of their writings a single thought of self-improvement. Their aim is merely that they may not sink. So the Emperor praises his teacher Maximus as one who "presented the appearance of a man who could not be diverted from the right, rather than of a man who had been improved."[5] He can appreciate no higher virtue than "to live a life which flows in quiet, and is like the existence of the gods."[6] Antoninus Pius was a noble character because he had no "love of novelty;"[7] and because "he loved to stay in the same places, and to employ himself about the same

[1] Lib. 4, c. 5. [2] Lib. 2, c. 14. [3] Lib. 4, c. 17. [4] Lib. 5, c. 33.
[5] Lib. 1, c. 15. [6] Lib. 2, c. 5. [7] Lib. 1, c. 16.

things."[1] "From Apollonius," writes Marcus, gratefully, "I learned freedom of will and undeviating steadiness of purpose; and to look to nothing else, not even for a moment, except to reason; and to be always the same, in sharp pains, on the occasion of the loss of a child, and in long illness."[2] "The mind which is free from passions is a citadel, for man has nothing more secure to which he can flee for refuge, and for the future be inexpugnable."[3] "Be like the promontory," he exclaims, "against which the waves continually break; but it stands firm, and tames the fury of the water around it."[4] Furthermore, the tranquillity of the true philosopher is not to be attained by the aid of others; we must learn the value of independence. "Seek not external help, nor the tranquillity which others give."[5] For a man "must stand erect, not be kept erect by others."[6] Then he breaks out into a denunciation of those who are ever prying into the characters of their neighbors, but take no care to scrutinize themselves. "It is a ridiculous thing," he says, "for a man not to fly from his own badness, which is, indeed, possible; but to fly from other men's badness, which is impossible."[7] And again: "I have often wondered how it is that every man loves himself more than all the rest of men, and yet sets less value on his own opinion of himself than on the opinion of others."[8] He is never tired of urging the importance of self-examination. "A man has seldom been seen to be unhappy through not observing what is in the mind of another; but those who do not observe the movements of their own minds must of necessity be unhappy."[9] "Men seek retreats for themselves — houses in the country, sea-shores, and mountains; and thou, too, art wont to desire such things very much. But this is altogether a mark of the commonest sort of men, for it is in thy power, whenever thou shalt choose, to retire into thyself. For nowhere, either with more quiet or more freedom from trouble, does a man retire than into his own

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[1] Lib. 1, c. 16. [2] Lib. 1, c. 8. [3] Lib. 8, c. 48. [4] Lib. 4, c. 49.
[5] Lib. 3, c. 5. [6] Lib. 3, c. 5. [7] Lib. 7, c. 71. [8] Lib. 12, c. 4.
[9] Lib. 2, c. 8.

soul."[1] "Look within. Within is the fountain of good, and it will ever bubble up, if thou wilt ever dig."[2] This contemplation of the good that is within us should be perpetual, for by habit character is formed. "Such as are thy habitual thoughts, such also will be the character of thy mind; for the soul is dyed by the thoughts."[3] The value of habit he illustrates in another way. "Practise thyself," he says, "even in the things which thou despairest of accomplishing; for even the left hand, which is ineffectual for all other things, for want of practice, holds the bridle more vigorously than the right hand, for it has been practised in this."[4] The mind thus trained can never be overcome by opposition from without; for, like the fire, its strength increases by its own activity. But, however complete the ruling faculty may be in itself, it is a mistake for it to attempt to get along entirely without the world about it; for "it makes a material for itself out of that which opposes it, as fire lays hold of what falls into it."[5]

This brings us to the second division of the law of nature—the social law. So important is this law in the system of Marcus, that he says, "The prime principle in man's constitution is the social."[6] One of the great beauties in the Emperor's philosophy is that it does not seek to prove the truths which are made known to us through the feelings. *Why* a man should follow the dictates of his own reason he never inquires; nor does he attempt to prove why he should obey the dictates of the social law. It is enough that there are other people in the world besides himself. Therefore he must regard their necessities as of equal importance with his own. A man must maintain his own independence; but he must remember that he is only a single part in this vast universe. It is inspiring to hear an emperor on the Roman throne exclaim, "The whole earth is a point, and how small a part of it is this thy dwelling!"[7] In another place he praises Antoninus Pius, because "he esteemed himself of no more account than any other citizen."[8] His modesty is manifest everywhere. He

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[1] Lib. 4, c. 3. [2] Lib. 7, c. 59. [3] Lib. 5, c. 16. [4] Lib. 12, c. 6.
[5] Lib. 4, c. 1. [6] Lib. 7, c. 55. [7] Lib. 4, c. 3. [8] Lib. 1, c. 16.

never accepts any good thing as coming from himself. In the *Thoughts* he is careful to point out at the start that all his good qualities, if he has any, were derived from his mother, from Antoninus Pius, or from his tutors. But he makes us feel at all times that he possesses that other quality—dignity—which makes a virtue of a weakness, which, in place of humbleness, gives us humility. That combination of qualities which is portrayed with such exquisite skill in the San Sistine Madonna at Dresden, and which shines out with so much beauty in the face of Marcus Aurelius, is one of the foremost characteristics of the *Thoughts*. The Emperor is very fond of such expressions as "simple dignity,"[1] "sweetness and dignity,"[2] "knowledge without ostentation;"[3] and in one place he urges upon himself to "pass through the rest of life like one who has intrusted to the gods, with his whole soul, all that he has, making himself neither the tyrant nor the slave of any man."[4] Everything that savored of hypocrisy he detested with his whole soul. "Never value anything as profitable to thyself which shall compel thee to break thy promise, to lose thy self-respect, to hate any man, to suspect, to curse, to act the hypocrite, to desire anything which needs walls and curtains."[5] The vanity of riches he frequently portrays.[6] Here is a lesson for the princes of the world: "I am thankful to the gods . . . that I was subjected to a ruler and a father who was able to take away all pride from me, and to bring me to the knowledge that it is possible for a man to live in a palace without wanting either guards or embroidered dresses, or torches and statues, and such-like show; but that it is in such a man's power to bring himself very near to the fashion of a private person, without being, for this reason, either meaner in thought or more remiss in action, with respect to the things which must be done for the public interest in a manner that befits a ruler."[7] Listen to this, you who would know the true use of riches: "I am thankful to the gods . . . that, whenever I wished to help any man in his need, or on any

[1] Lib. 2, c. 5. [2] Lib. 1, c. 15. [3] Lib. 1, c. 9. [4] Lib. 4, c. 31.
[5] Lib. 3, c. 7. [6] See lib. 1, c. 3; and lib. 1, c. 11. [7] Lib. 1, c. 17.

other occasion, I was never told that I had not the means of doing it."[1] Then, with regard to all flattery and ostentation, he is never weary of denouncing it. He notes with joy the eagerness which Antoninus Pius exhibited "to check immediately popular applause and all flattery."[2] "What more dost thou want when thou hast done a man a service? art thou not content that thou hast done something conformable to thy nature, and dost thou seek to be paid for it? just as if the eye demanded a recompense for seeing, or the feet for walking."[3] "As a horse when he has run, a dog when he has tracked the game, a bee when it has made the honey, so a man, when he has done a good act, does not call out for others to come and see, but goes on to another act, as a vine goes on to produce again the grapes in season."[4]

But the social law not only made the Emperor lowly in his own eyes, it made him charitable to his neighbors. In his assiduous regard for the feelings of others, he recommends us not to find fault with those who make gross errors in their speech, "but dexterously to introduce the very expression which ought to have been used, and in the way of answer or giving confirmation, or joining in an inquiry about the thing itself, not about the word, or by some other fit suggestion."[5] Another valuable rule is this: "Accustom thyself to attend carefully to what is said by another, and, as much as it is possible, be in the speaker's mind."[6] So prone are we all to overestimate the injuries we suffer that we shall do well to make forgiveness our universal rule. It is scarcely possible to err on the side of too great charity. Indeed, if we will only stop to examine our minds when we feel offended, we shall almost invariably find that the wrong is in ourselves. "If thou art pained by any external thing, it is not this thing that disturbs thee, but thy own judgment about it."[7] "Take away thy opinion, and then there is taken away the complaint, 'I have been harmed.' Take away the complaint, 'I have been harmed,' and then the harm is taken away."[8] And then

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[1] Lib. 1, c. 17. [2] Lib. 1, c. 16. [3] Lib. 9, c. 42. [4] Lib. 5, c. 6.
[5] Lib. 1, c. 10. [6] Lib. 6, c. 53. [7] Lib. 8, c. 47. [8] Lib. 4, c. 7.

he gives us a few simple words of advice. "We ought," he says, "to check in the series of our thoughts everything that is useless and without a purpose, but most of all the over-curious feeling and the malignant; and a man should accustom himself to think of those things only about which, if one should suddenly ask, What hast thou now in thy thoughts? with perfect openness thou mightest immediately answer, This or That; so that from thy words it should be plain that everything in thee is simple and benevolent, and such as befits a social animal, and one that cares not for thoughts about pleasure or sensual enjoyments at all, or any rivalry or envy or suspicion, or anything else for which thou wouldst blush to say thou hadst it in thy mind."[1]

The two parts of the law of nature which we have thus far considered would be very incomplete without the last. It is the law of God that brings together and unites the other two. Here, as before, the fundamental truths are not deemed proper subjects for investigation. That there is a God, and that his laws are to be obeyed, the Emperor regards as too firmly established to admit of doubt. In one passage, however, he does condescend to answer the objection of unbelievers. "To those who ask, Where hast thou seen the gods, or how dost thou comprehend that they exist, and so worshippest them? I answer, in the first place, they may be seen even with the eyes; in the second place, neither have I seen even my own soul, and yet I honor it. Thus, then, with respect to the gods, from what I constantly experience of their power, from this I comprehend that they exist, and I venerate them."[2] In other words, the gods make themselves known both through the sight and through the inner feelings. It is the harmony that pervades everything, internal and external, which convinces us that there is a supreme power behind it all. Nor is this idea of the gods, of the universe, in any essential aspect different from the Christian's idea of God. The Emperor says, "There is one universe made up of all things, and one god who pervades all things, and one substance, and

[1] Lib. 3, c. 4. [2] Lib. 12, c. 28.

one law."[1] "Constantly regard the universe as one living being, having one substance and one soul."[2] Surely, these thoughts breathe the spirit of Christianity. Now it is by studying the workings of this universe that we shall be enabled to discover the will of God. And in our studies we shall learn, according to Marcus Aurelius, that "the Universe loves nothing so much as to change the things which are and to make new things like them."[3] "Some things are hurrying into existence, and others are hurrying out of it; and of that which is coming into existence part is already extinguished. Motions and changes are continually renewing the world, just as the uninterrupted course of time is always renewing the infinite duration of ages."[4] The whole duty of man, therefore, is to contribute to this work. He is to conform to the law of his own nature and to the social law only because in that way he will best co-operate in producing the changes of the universe. It is for this work that man was formed. "We are made for co-operation, like feet, like hands, like eyelids, like the rows of the upper and lower teeth."[5] A neglect to contribute to this work is contrary to the law of nature, and is sin. We must, therefore, endeavor to preserve our health, that we may be the better enabled to perform our work,[6] and when our work is over, we should gladly die. Whether or not the philosophy of Marcus regards it as a man's duty, when his powers fail him, to die by his own hand, is not quite clear. In one place he says, "And considering whether a man should now depart from life;"[7] and again, "Who is he that shall hinder thee from being good and simple? Do thou only determine to live no longer, unless thou shalt be such. For neither does reason allow thee to live, if thou art not such."[8] But, on the other hand, he asks, "Why, then, dost thou not wait in tranquillity for thy end?"[9] One further duty the law of God imposes on us. Not only must we help our neighbor when he is in need; we must also be willing to receive help from him. "Be not ashamed to be

[1] Lib. 7, c. 9. [2] Lib. 4, c. 40. [3] Lib. 4, c. 36. [4] Lib. 6, c. 15.
[5] Lib. 2, c. 1. [6] See lib. 1, c. 16. [7] Lib. 3, c. 1. [8] Lib. 10, c. 32.
[9] Lib. 5, c. 33.

helped; for it is thy business to do thy duty like a soldier in the assault on a town. How then, if, being lame, thou canst not mount up on the battlements alone, but with the help of another it is possible?"[1]

The crowning beauty of the whole philosophy of the Emperor is its optimistic view of nature. This view follows as a necessary consequence from his firm conviction of the omniscience and omnipotence of God. Everything that happens must be for the best. "We are all working together to one end, some with knowledge and design, and others without knowing what they do. . . . Men co-operate after different fashions: and even those co-operate abundantly who find fault with what happens, and those who try to oppose it and to hinder it; for the universe had need even of such men as these."[2] Like most men who really believe in the omnipotence of God, Marcus Aurelius did not believe it to be his duty to punish wickedness. He therefore recommends "a benevolent disposition, even to liars and unjust men."[3] He speaks out boldly (what no true Christian can deny) that "wickedness does no harm at all to the universe. . . . It is only harmful to him who has it in his power to be released from it."[4] So deeply ingrafted was this principle in his nature that in almost everything he was able to discern some hidden good. "To the gods," he says, "I am indebted for having good grandfathers, good parents, a good sister, good teachers, good associates, good kinsmen and friends, nearly everything good."[5] He certainly had the power in a remarkable degree of gathering to himself the sweet things of this world. All nature appeared to his soul alive with beauty. "Figs, when they are quite ripe, gape open; and in the ripe olives the very circumstance of their being near to rottenness adds a peculiar beauty to the fruit. And the ears of corn bending down, and the lion's eyebrows, and the foam which flows from the mouth of wild boars, and many other things—though they are far from being beautiful if a man should examine them severally, still, because they are consequent upon

[1] Lib. 7, c. 7. [2] Lib. 6, c. 42. [3] Lib. 6, c. 47.
[4] Lib. 8, c. 55. [5] Lib. 1, c. 17.

the things which are formed by nature, help to adorn them, and they please the mind. . . . Many such things will present themselves, not pleasing to every man, but to him only who has become truly familiar with nature and her works."[1] This habit of seeing a Divine Hand at work in everything it should always be our endeavor to acquire. An inestimable benefit is to be derived from contemplating the good, the deity, that is in ourselves. "Nothing is more wretched than a man who traverses everything in a round, and pries into the things beneath the earth, as the poet says, and seeks by conjecture what is in the minds of his neighbors, without perceiving that it is sufficient to attend to the deity within him, and to reverence it sincerely."[2] Much, too, is to be obtained by searching out the ever-present relation between the human and divine. "As physicians have always their instruments and knives ready for cases which suddenly require their skill, so do thou have principles ready for the understanding of things divine and human, and for doing everything, even the smallest, with a recollection of the bond which unites the divine and human to one another."[3] This thought the Emperor is never weary of repeating. It is the idea on which, more than on any other, he loves to dwell; and at times his philosophy is carried by it above the realms of reason, and pierces into the infinity beyond. His *Thoughts* reach their highest point in a personal communion with the gods. And yet this communion never becomes selfish, like much of the so-called piety we see about us. The prayers of Marcus Aurelius to his gods are for one thing only—that their will be done. All else is vain, all else is rebellion against the universe itself. Our form of worship should be like this: "Everything harmonizes with me which is harmonious to thee, O Universe. Nothing for me is too early nor too late, which is in due time for thee. Everything is fruit to me which thy seasons bring, O Nature: from thee are all things, in thee are all things, to thee all things return."[4]

One cannot rise from a study of these *Thoughts* without a feeling of intense depression. I believe it would be impossi-

[1] Lib. 3, c. 2. [2] Lib. 2, c. 13. [3] Lib. 3, c. 13.
[4] Lib. 4, c. 23; cf. lib. 5, c. 7; and lib. 9, c. 40.

ble to find another book, outside of Christianity, in which the reader meets with so much that is truly pathetic as in this. The *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius present us with the picture of a noble, earnest soul, striving to reach the solution of problems for which his religion and his philosophy are quite inadequate. He is groping in the dark for a consolation which, even in the end, he is not fully able to secure. And yet, in this endeavor to seize the truth, often so very far beyond his reach, he is ever contented, ever cheerful, ever enthusiastic. It is a humiliating lesson that is forced upon us by a study of these *Thoughts;* and it is a lesson which makes itself all the more strongly felt by reason of the similarity between the times of Marcus Aurelius and our own. The Roman people of those days were, like ourselves, at that stage in their history when all enthusiasm for divine things was fast giving way before the vast strides which men were making in their conquests over the forces of the world. By the majority of the people religion was tolerated as a relic of their early history rather than cherished as a natural concomitant of progress. And we, too, of this cold nineteenth century, in which there is so little religion that is not stereotyped in forms of thought bequeathed to us by more enthusiastic generations, are often inclined to look back upon our ancestors with a sort of pity rather than with admiration. But we shall not be wise to neglect the lesson taught us by the history of Rome. If it is our ambition to leave behind us a name that may be honored in later ages, we shall do well to consider for a moment the place which Marcus Aurelius holds, after these many centuries, and to ask ourselves whether men do not still attach some value to the fresh, clear notes that burst from the soul of that early seeker after God.

While the Emperor was engaged on the last few chapters of his book, he was made to feel that his work on earth was now drawing to its close. From his earliest days his life had been one continual warfare with disease.[1] If we had no source of information but his own words, we should know

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 36: Ἐκ δ' οὖν τῆς πολλῆς ἀσχολίας τε καὶ ἀσκήσεως ἀσθενέστατον τὸ σῶμα ἔσχεν.

nothing of the agony he suffered. And if we were left to judge of his physical constitution solely by the activity of his mind, we should picture him as a man of extraordinary health and vigor. But that it was otherwise we know from the works of Galen, who was a contemporary of Marcus. This celebrated physician speaks more than once of the disease with which his ruler was afflicted. The exact nature of his trouble is not known; but it appears to have been some chronic stomach complaint of the most aggravated form. The suffering which attended this disease was so acute that during the latter part of his life the Emperor scarcely ate a morsel of food during the entire day; his habit was to get up long before daybreak and take a little nourishment at that hour; and this lasted him throughout the day.[1] Such a regimen, though apparently a matter of necessity, proved so enervating to his system that during the later years of his life he could hardly endure the exertion required to address his soldiers.[2] It was only by extreme care that he was able to keep his body in a condition to perform his daily work. And yet, by strict temperance and severe regularity of habits, he succeeded in accomplishing his duties in a way which would have done honor to the most robust and vigorous of his predecessors. Galen speaks in terms of the highest praise of the temperance which Marcus invariably practised.[3] There was a remedy, known as *theriaca*, which seemed to alleviate the Emperor's pain more than anything else. This drug, which was a mixture of opium and spices, was a favorite of Galen's, and it was apparently by his advice

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[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 6: Οὕτως ἀσθενὴς τῷ σώματι ἐγένετο, ὥστε μήτε τὸ ψύχος τήν γε πρώτην ὑπομεῖναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὶν διαλεχθῆναι τοῖς στρατιώταις, συνεληλυθόσιν ἤδη κατὰ τὸ παρηγγελμένον, ἀναχωρῆσαι, καὶ τροφὴν βραχυτάτην, καὶ ταύτην ἐν νυκτὶ, ἀεὶ λαμβάνειν. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὅτε μεθ' ἡμέραν.

[2] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 6.

[3] Galen., *Ad Pison. de theriaca*, c. 2 [v. 14, p. 216 of Kühn's ed.]: Τὸν θεῖον Μάρκον καὶ ἡμεῖς οἴδαμεν ἐνθέσμως ποτὲ βασιλεύσαντα, καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν σύνεσιν τῷ συγκράσει τοῦ σώματος παρακολουθήσαντα, κατακόρως τε, καὶ ὡς τινι τροφῇ χρησάμενον τῷ φαρμάκῳ. See also Galen., *De sanitate tuenda*, lib. 6, c. 5 [v. 6, p. 406].

that Marcus began its use.[1] Its effect was undoubtedly soothing; and it was said to have been beneficial in warding off the pestilence.[2] Even *theriaca*, however, could not rejuvenate a worn-out system. In the spring of 180 it became manifest that the Emperor had but a little while to live. He continued to perform his duties as long as he was able; but meanwhile he was growing weaker from day to day, until at last his strength failed him so completely that he was unable to leave his couch. When he saw that all hope of recovery was past, he could not help recalling the careers of former kings who had been elevated to the throne when children; and he was filled with anxiety lest his own boy, Commodus, should meet with the same fate, and be corrupted by flattery and honors. Besides this, he was oppressed with anxiety for the welfare of the Empire; for he was afraid that the Germans, who were always ready to break out in rebellion, would seize the opportunity when Rome was governed by a boy. So he called about him his friends and as many of his relatives as were at hand, and, raising himself gently on his couch, spoke to them as follows: "That you are grieved to see me in my present state is not strange. For it is human nature to feel pity at the misfortunes of our fellows, and calamities that occur before our eyes call forth especial sadness. But to me I think you owe even something more than this; for the condition in which you see me now was produced in working for your interests, and I have reason to expect a favor in return. Now is the opportunity for me to see whether I have in vain so long devoted my energies to your service; and now, too, is the opportunity for you to prove your gratitude by remembering the favors I have heaped upon you. Here

[1] Galen., *De antidot.*, lib. 1, c. 17 [v. 14, p. 201]: *Θηριακὴ ᾗ ἐχρήσατο Μάρκος ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ*; and Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 6: *Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὅτε μεθ' ἡμέραν, πλὴν τοῦ φαρμάκου τοῦ θηριακοῦ καλουμένου, ἐσιτεῖτο. ἐλάμβανε δὲ τοῦ φαρμάκου, οὐχ οὕτως ὅτι ἐδεδίει τι, ὡς ὅτι τοῦ τε στομάχου καὶ τοῦ θώρακος φαύλως εἶχε· καί φασιν ὅτι δι' ἐκεῖνα αὐτακρεῖν πρός τε τἆλλα, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐδύνατο.*

[2] See Galen., *De theriaca ad Pamphilianum* [v. 14, p. 299]; and Galen., *De antidot.*, lib. 1, c. 1 [v. 14, p. 3].

you see my son, whom you yourselves have educated, just reaching the age of manhood, and, like a ship in the midst of storms and surging waves, in need of pilots. My fear is that his inexperience may prove his ruin. Show yourselves towards him, therefore, as many fathers, in place of me. Take care of him and give him counsel. For stores of riches are of no avail to a tyrant who is destitute of power; and no body-guard is sufficient to protect a ruler who does not possess the affections of his subjects. Where the reign is to be of any duration, those rulers govern most safely who inspire their subjects not with a fear of punishment, but with a love of excellence. If your subjects are to serve you without suspicion and without flattery, they must be made obedient by persuasion, not enslaved against their will. It is hard to measure or to place a limit to the passions of a subject people. Impress these thoughts upon my son, recall them often to his remembrance, make your ruler a glory to yourselves and all the world. Thus will you perform the greatest honor to my memory. Thus only can you make my name immortal."[1] When he had ended, his mind began to wander, and, overcome by weakness, he sank back upon his couch. In the delirium which followed it is said he cried out again and again the tragic line: "*Haec luctuosi belli opera sunt.*"[2] On the 17th of March, 180, Marcus Aurelius breathed his last, being then in the fifty-ninth year of his age and the twentieth of his reign.[3]

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[1] Herodian., *Hist.*, lib. 1, c. 4.

[2] *Dionis excerpta;* edid. Angelo Mai [*in his* Scriptorum ueterum noua collectio e Vaticanis codicibus. Romae, 1825–38. 10v. 4°. v. 2, pp. 135–233], c. 106.

[3] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 33: Τῇ ἑπτακαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ Μαρτίου μετήλλαξεν; and c. 34: Ἔτη γὰρ ὀκτὼ καὶ πεντήκοντα, καὶ μῆνας δέκα, ἡμέρας τε εἴκοσι καὶ δύο ζήσας, κἀν τούτοις τῷ τε πρὶν Ἀντωνίνῳ συχνὸν χρόνον ὑπάρξας, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐννέα καὶ δέκα ἔτη, καὶ ἕνδεκα ἡμέρας αὐταρχήσας. See also Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 180. Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 33, hints, after his usual fashion, that Marcus was poisoned by his son Commodus. The silence of other historians on this point is the best answer to the insinuation. It has also been suggested, quite without authority, that the pestilence was the immediate cause of Marcus's death. It is true that the pestilence still lingered in some out-of-the-way places; and an inscription

His death, according to the expression of Dion Cassius, marks the point at which the Roman world sank from the Golden to the Iron Age.'

The Emperor's remains were carried at once to Rome. It must have been a sad task that his generals were thus called

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has been found at Bauerkirchen which records the death of an entire family by the pestilence in the year 182. Henzen, *no.* 5489. But it is quite gratuitous to maintain that the Emperor's death had any connection therewith. The fact that he had outlived the severity of the contagion, as well as the fact that all the contemporary writers assume that he died of his chronic trouble, prove sufficiently that his death was not due in any way to the pestilence. The place of his death is given variously as Vienna and as Sirmium. See Tertullian., *Apologet.*, c. 25; Victor, *De Caes.*, c. 16, § 13; and Victor, *Epit. de Caes.*, c. 16, § 12.

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 36: *Περὶ οὗ ἥδη ῥητέον, ἀπὸ χρυσῆς τε βασιλείας ἐς σιδηρᾶν καὶ καταιτιωμένων, τῶν τε πραγμάτων τοῖς τότε Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἡμῖν νῦν καταπεσούσης τῆς ἱστορίας.* It has been maintained that Marcus Aurelius was in part to blame for the evil times which followed upon his death, inasmuch as it was he who selected Commodus for his successor. And the Emperor Julian, in his *Caesares* (v. 1, pp. 401 and 429 of Hertlein's ed.), makes this the main point of his attack on Marcus. But before forming our opinion too hastily we should consider one or two matters connected with it. In the first place, Marcus had absolutely no reason for suspecting that his son would turn out such a despicable character as we now know him to have been. It must be remembered that at his father's death Commodus was but nineteen years of age; and, though Marcus was undoubtedly often pained to notice how little development his son's character underwent, he had no reason to suppose Commodus capable of such crimes as he afterwards committed. Indeed, there is a passage in Capitolinus which would seem to prove that until shortly before his father's death the morals of Commodus were not exceptionally bad. See Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 27. Moreover, in accordance with the custom of the times, Commodus may almost be said to have been the rightful successor to the throne. Antoninus Pius, as well as Hadrian and Trajan, had, it is true, chosen their successors outside of their own families, but that was only because they had no children of their own. Marcus Aurelius, on the other hand, not only had a son, but that son had been for several years already joined with his father in the empire. If, then, under such circumstances, Marcus had dethroned his son of nineteen solely on the ground that his habits were somewhat wild, he would justly have laid himself open to the charge of cruelty, and it may well be questioned whether such an act would have been a wise precedent to establish.

upon to perform. The success with which Marcus Aurelius had conducted the Marcomannic war was so marked as to be often referred to by writers of a later age.[1] And we are told that, if he had lived another year, he would have made provinces of the countries occupied by the Marcomanni, the Hermunduri, the Sarmatæ, and the Quadi.[2] This plan, even if it could ever have been practicable, was now thwarted. The enthusiasm of the soldiers seems to have died away now that their Emperor was no more; and a large body of them returned with his remains to Rome. We are told that Marcus was so universally loved by his people that on the day of his funeral all joined with one accord in the sentiment that there should be no mourning, since he was now returned to the gods, who had lent him to the world. When it was proposed to deify the departed Emperor, not a dissenting voice was heard. And, among all the other honors which were heaped upon him, it was deemed sacrilege if any one whose means allowed it did not possess an image of the *Diuus Marcus*.[3] Indeed, so long after as in the reign of Diocletian,

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[1] For example, Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 17: *Contra Germanos res feliciter gessit;* and Lampridius, *Ant. Heliog.*, c. 9: *Cum Marcomannis bellum inferre uellet quod Antoninus pulcherrime profligarat, dictum est a quibusdam per Chaldaeos et magos Antoninum Marcum id egisse ut Marcomanni populo Romano semper deuoti essent atque amicis.*

[2] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 27: *Dein ad conficiendum bellum conuersus in administratione eius belli obiit, labentibus iam filii moribus ab instituto suo. triennio bellum postea cum Marcomannis, Hermunduris, Sarmatis, Quadis etiam egit. et si anno uno superfuisset prouincias ex his fecisset.* Capitolinus is mistaken in stating the period of the Marcomannic war during which the Emperor died as of three years' duration; in fact, it lasted but little over eighteen months. Eutropius, *Breuiar. hist. Roman.*, lib. 8, c. 13, makes the same error: *Ingenti ergo labore et moderatione, cum apud Carnuntum iugi triennio perseuerasset, bellum Marcomannicum confecit, quod cum his Quadi, Vandali, Sarmatae, Sueui, atque omnis barbaria commouerat.*

[3] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 18: *Tantusque illius amor die regii funeris claruit, ut nemo illum plangendum censuerit, certis omnibus, quod ab diis commodatus ad deos redisset. denique, priusquam funus conderetur, ut plerique dicunt, quod numquam antea factum fuerat neque postea, senatus populusque non diuisis locis sed in una sede propitium deum dixit . . . et parum*

Capitolinus could say that "many statues of him are still kept among the household gods."[1] It would be out of place to dwell here at any length upon the numerous works of art by which his memory was kept alive at Rome. We may, however, be allowed to mention the three chief memorials to his greatness. First is the admirable equestrian statue in bronze, once gilded, and formerly in the Forum; but in 1538 transferred to the *Piazza del Campidoglio*, where it yet looks down upon us with the calm, sweet expression of the Emperor. Then there was the triumphal arch erected in his honor, which remained in the *Corso* until Pope Alexander VII. demolished it in order to gain greater space for the races at the Carnival. Lastly, we have the enormous Column of Antoninus, raised to commemorate the victories of the Marcomannic war, and until recently regarded as in honor of Antoninus Pius—a singular tribute to the modesty as well as the greatness of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

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sane fuit quod illi honores diuinos omnis aetas, omnis sexus, omnis condicio ac dignitas dedit, nisi quod etiam sacrilegus iudicatus est qui eius imaginem in sua domo non habuit, qui per fortunam uel potuit habere uel debuit.

[1] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 18.

Chapter VII.

THE ATTITUDE OF MARCUS AURELIUS TOWARDS CHRISTIANITY.

Marcus Aurelius a Persecutor of the Christians.—Nature of Christianity at the Time.—Heretics: Valentinus; Ptolemæus; Colorbasus; Marcus; Marcion; Apelles; Tatian; Montanus; Alogi.—Fantastic Notions of the Orthodox: Justin; *Clementine Homilies;* Tertullian; Papias of Hierapolis; Irenæus; Bardesanes.—Conflict between the Orthodox and Heretics.—Polemics of Pagan Writers: Crescentius; Fronto; Celsus; Lucian.—Christian Apologists: Justin; Tatian; Apollinarius; Melito; Athenagoras.—Christians Attack the Religion of Rome: Hermias; *Sibylline Oracles.*—Enmity of the People Aroused.—Martyrdom of Justin.—Of Polycarp.—Persecutions at Lugdunum and Vienna.—Part Taken by Marcus in these Persecutions.—His Alleged Hatred of Christianity and Fondness for the Jews.—Real Nature of his Opposition to Christianity.—Its Causes.—Reasons why he did not Embrace the New Religion.—Christians were Enemies of the Empire.—Christianity of the Age very Corrupt.—Superstition and Impostors.—Persecutions in Reality a Blessing to the Church.

While Marcus Aurelius was passing his busy life in leading the imperial armies, in legislating for the down-trodden among his subjects, and in composing his *Thoughts*, a new power was forcing its way into the Empire with rapid steps. There is no other fact in history which it is so difficult to account for as the rapidity with which Christianity spread through Europe during the three centuries immediately following the death of Christ. The reign of Marcus Aurelius marks an important stage in this miraculous growth. Before his time the new religion had made its progress in singular obscurity. Apart from the writings of its own followers, scarcely a single reference is made to Christianity, and those few Pagan writers who condescend to mention it seldom do more than speak of it in contemptuous terms as an *exi-*

tiabilis superstitio. It was looked upon by the vast majority of citizens as a superstition which could exert only a temporary influence upon the common people; and was generally regarded as scarcely worthy of opposition. But during the reign of Marcus Aurelius the world begins to adopt a new attitude towards Christianity. The scholars of the time apply themselves diligently to a study of the new religion, and make it the subject of their polemics and their satire; while its supporters retaliate by presenting their Apologies before the throne. Christianity becomes one of the prominent features of the age; and the Emperor is bound to sanction it or put it down.

It has been the fashion among those Christian writers who have treated of Marcus's reign to cease their eulogy of his character at this point, and to make the contrast between Christianity and Paganism all the sharper by pointing out how cruel a persecutor even the noblest man can be if he is a stranger to the doctrines of Jesus Christ. This view of the subject appears to me altogether incorrect. I believe it is based upon a total misunderstanding of the times. Marcus Aurelius was a persecutor of the Christians; but let us not pass judgment upon his actions and his motives until we have discovered the real nature of the Christianity which he endeavored to repress.

For a good many years after the death of Jesus the Church which he had founded continued to be guided by the oral teaching of the apostles, who had derived their doctrine from the Fountain-head. It was to these men, who had seen and heard the Lord, that the early Christians flocked for counsel and instruction. About the year 70, however, a very important change began to take place in the methods of the Christian Church. That was the year in which Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus; and the consequent dispersion of the Jews and Christians marks the point at which the diffusion of Christianity throughout the world began. The most important result of this dispersion is found in the necessity it created for a written document relative to the origin and nature of Christianity. This need was felt all the more strongly as

the apostles one by one were put to death, and the infant Church was thus left without direct testimony to the teachings of its Founder. In this way arose the *Gospels*, compiled in great measure, as it seems, from the written notes of the apostles, but largely supplemented by the legendary stories that were in everybody's mouth. Obviously, these documents, compiled by different persons and at different times, could never possess the authority which was conceded to those men who had seen and walked with Jesus. But they were the best authorities that could be had; and so the followers of Jesus went forth into the world, armed with the *Gospels* of their Lord, and supplementing them, when necessary, by their own oral testimony.

The field which the early Christians mapped out for their conquest was the world, but the world was not yet ready to receive their teaching. Many centuries of training were requisite before men could grasp the simple meaning of the revelation. The different portions of the Roman Empire were strongly marked by their own peculiarities, by methods of thoughts inherited from their fathers; and as the new religion spread throughout the Empire it became stamped at once by the various characteristics of the people by whom it was received. In Palestine and Syria the devotional element made itself manifest from the very first; the old Mosaic usages were incorporated into Christianity; and by many converts an ascetic life was deemed important. In Greece, and in the cities where Grecian influence was predominant, a speculative spirit was soon infused into the new religion; the followers of Jesus sought to develop Christianity into a system of philosophy. At Rome, Christianity took on a formal and external character; and there sprang up gradually the idea of a religion which should rule the world temporally as well as spiritually. These were the three tendencies which came in contact with each other inside the Church itself; and the more violent the conflict between them grew, the less likelihood was there that Christianity would find acceptance from the Pagan world.

At the time when Marcus Aurelius began his reign, the strict-

ly Judaizing tendency which at first had played a very prominent part in Palestine, and was represented chiefly by the Ebionites and Nazarenes, had nearly died away, and the great majority of the Christians were of Gentile race. This change was due mainly to the rebellion of Barcocheba, in 135. After his fall, almost all the Christians in Palestine, becoming dissatisfied with their Jewish brethren, had abandoned the Mosaic rites which they had hitherto practised, and had chosen for the first time a Gentile bishop. They were, therefore, permitted to reside at Ælia Capitolina, the city built on the ruins of the old Jerusalem, while the Christians who persevered in their Jewish ways were not allowed by Hadrian to approach the city.[1] Thus the gap between the Jews and Christians grew wider and wider, until, in the time of Marcus Aurelius, the Jewish tendency was scarcely felt at all inside the Church. The Eastern enthusiasm, however, which the people of Syria possessed in common with the Jews, continued to act as a powerful factor in the growth of Christianity; but only as it adapted itself to the vastly more important Hellenizing tendency, which found its origin especially in Alexandria. The leading trait of the Alexandrians was their love of speculation; and as soon as the divinity of Christ was preached to them, they endeavored to explain it by their theory of the λόγος. It is believed that the apostle John composed his *Gospel* under the influence of this idea. The problem which lay at the basis of this Alexandrian speculation was, to account for the evil in the world; and the disciples of this school attempted to solve the problem by a dualistic theory, maintaining that the world was created by an evil spirit, the Demiurgus, and that the good spirit, God, sent Christ, his λόγος, into the world to redeem us from our sin. The faculty by which we can appreciate our relation towards God is the γνῶσις—a word which gave the Alexandrian school the name of Gnostics. Their speculations, spreading throughout Syria, were pretty generally adopted, though with modifications, by the Christians there; and thence they spread to

[1] Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 4, c. 6, and lib. 5, c. 12.

Rome; so that by the time of Marcus Aurelius the Gnostic influence had penetrated everywhere. It took on innumerable forms, these forms being shaped in great measure by the characteristics of the countries where they originated. We shall now present a brief description of these peculiar views.

Passing over the sects founded by Cerinthus, Basilides, Saturninus, Carpocrates, and Cerdo, we come to those Gnostic teachers who flourished in the latter half of the second century. One of the first of these was Valentinus, who came from Alexandria to Rome about 140, and died about 160. He founded a sect which was called after himself, and he counted a very large portion of the Church among his followers. The Valentinians, according to the testimony of Irenæus, maintained "that in the invisible and ineffable heights above there exists a certain perfect, pre-existent Æon, whom they call Proarche, Propator, and Bythus, and describe as invisible and incomprehensible. Eternal and unbegotten, he remained throughout innumerable cycles of ages in profound serenity and quiescence. There existed along with him Ennœa, whom they also call Charis and Sige. At last this Bythus determined to send forth from himself the beginning of all things, and deposited this production (which he had resolved to bring forth) in his contemporary, Sige, even as seed is deposited in the womb." Sige then brought forth children, who in turn brought forth others, until there were altogether thirty Æons; and these thirty constitute the Pleroma, or heaven, as distinguished from the lower beings. "They maintain also, that these thirty Æons are most plainly indicated in the parable of the laborers sent into the vineyard. For some are sent about the first hour, others about the third hour, others about the sixth hour, others about the ninth hour, and others about the eleventh hour. Now, if we add up the numbers of the hours here mentioned, the sum total will be thirty: for one, three, six, nine, and eleven, when added together, form thirty." Lastly, all of these Æons "brought together whatever each one had in himself of the greatest beauty and preciousness; and uniting all these contributions so as skilfully to blend the whole, they produced, to the honor and glory of Bythus, a being of most per-

fect beauty, the very star of the Pleroma, and the perfect fruit of it, namely, Jesus." These thirty Æons are, moreover, divided into an Ogdoad, a Decad, and a Duodecad. "The Duodecad of the Æons is indicated by the fact that the Lord was twelve years of age when he disputed with the teachers of the law, and by the election of the apostles, for of these there were twelve. The other eighteen Æons are made manifest in that the Lord, according to the Valentinians, conversed with his disciples for eighteen months after his resurrection from the dead." And so on throughout the entire system, each step of which is based upon some reason equally conclusive with those given above.[1] The worst thing about this sect was its degraded code of morals. If we are to believe Irenæus, the Valentinians led very disreputable lives, and even in their teaching encouraged such a course, "maintaining that carnal things should be allowed to the carnal nature, while spiritual things are provided for the spiritual."[2]

One of the followers of Valentinus was Ptolemæus, who, however, differed in some points from his master, and consequently founded a separate sect. The school of Ptolemæus taught that Bythus "has two consorts, which they also name *Diatheses* (affections), viz., Ennœa and Thelesis. For, as they affirm, he first conceived the thought of producing something, and then willed to that effect. Wherefore, again, these two affections, or powers, Ennœa and Thelesis, having intercourse, as it were, between themselves, the production of Monogenes and Aletheia took place according to conjunction. These two came forth as types and images of the two affections of the Father—visible representations of those that were invisible—Nous (i. e., Monogenes) of Thelesis, and Aletheia of Ennœa, and accordingly the image resulting from Thele-

[1] This account of the doctrines of the Valentinians is taken from Irenæus, *Contr. haer.*, lib. 1, c. 1 and 2. For further information, see the anonymous work *Aduers. omnes haer.*, c. 4; *Philosophumena*, lib. 6, c. 21–37, and lib. 10, c. 13; Philastrius, *De haer. post Christ.*, c. 10; Epiphanius, *Aduers. haer.*, lib. 1 [v. 41, pp. 474–543 of Migne's ed.]; Augustinus, *De haer.*, c. 11; and Theodoretus, *Haer. fab. compend.*, lib. 1, c. 7.

[2] Iren., *Contr. haer.*, lib. 1, c. 6, §§ 2 and 3.

sis was masculine, while that from Ennœa was feminine. Thus Thelesis (Will) became, as it were, a faculty of Ennœa (Thought). For Ennœa continually yearned after offspring; but she could not of herself bring forth that which she desired. But when the power of Thelesis (the faculty of Will) came upon her, then she brought forth that on which she had brooded."[1]

Then came Colorbasus, who differed from the other Gnostic teachers in that he held that Bythus did not produce the first Ogdoad gradually, but that all of the eight were born at the same time. In fact, he seems to have regarded the first eight Æons very nearly as attributes of Bythus.[2]

The system of Marcus was similar, but very poetic in its fancies. "He set forth his system in a poem, in which he introduced the divine Æons discoursing, in liturgical forms, and with gorgeous symbols of worship. In the manner of the Jewish Cabala, he hunted after special mysteries in the number and position of letters. The idea of a λόγος τοῦ ὄντος, of a word manifesting the hidden divine essence in the creation, was spun out by him into the most subtile details."[3] Irenæus tells us of a trick which Marcus was in the habit of performing by means of two cups of different sizes. The large one he used to keep nearly full of wine, pretending, however, that it was empty. The small one being then filled, Marcus would pour the wine from the smaller into the larger cup until the latter overflowed; and in this way he made the people believe that he could repeat the miracle of the loaves and fishes.[4] Marcus's private life, too, seems to have been open to objection. It was said that he was in the habit of

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[1] Iren., *Contr. haer.*, lib. 1, c. 12, § 1. See also the anonymous work *Aduers. omnes haer.*, c. 4; *Philosophum.*, lib. 6, c. 39; Philastr., *De haer. post Christ.*, c. 11; Epiphan., *Aduers. haer.*, lib. 1 [v. 41, pp. 555–78 of Migne's ed.]; and Augustin., *De haer.*, c. 13.

[2] See Iren., *Contr. haer.*, lib. 1, c. 12, § 3; the anonymous work *Aduers. omnes haer.*, c. 5; Philastr., *De haer. post Christ.*, c. 15; Augustin., *De haer.*, c. 15; and Theodoret., *Haer. fab. compend.*, lib. 1, c. 12.

[3] Neander, *Christ. relig. and Church*, v. 1, p. 440.

[4] Iren., *Contr. haer.*, lib. 1, c. 13, § 2.

compounding philters and love-potions, by means of which he attracted women into his society.[1]

Of the other Gnostics we can merely mention the names. The foremost of them were Heracleon, Bardesanes, Hermogenes, the Ophites, the Cainites, the Pseudo-Basilideans, the Antitactes, the Prodicians, the Nicolaitans, and the Simonians.

Besides all these, there was a sect founded by a man named Marcion. He is usually regarded as a Gnostic; but he was not a very sincere one; for the tendency among the Gnostics is towards speculation, whereas the characteristic of Marcion is his essentially practical nature. He believed that Christianity had become covered up by a mass of doctrine which did not belong to it, and his aim was to restore it to its original simplicity. He felt that the errors were due chiefly to the common practice of allegorizing the *Scriptures;* and he therefore strongly advocated a literal interpretation. He taught that man was formed by the Demiurgus, but that the Demiurgus had no power to give man a godlike principle of life, by which he could overcome evil; so that men had to struggle with their sin. The Demiurgus, however, chose out the Jews to be his people, and promised them that he would give them a Redeemer. But God, who is by nature full of compassion, could not bear to see all the rest of the world suffering: so he sent them Christ in place of the Messiah promised in the *Old Testament* by the Demiurgus to the Jews. This system of Marcion sprang more from the heart than from the head; and consequently it was accompanied by an enthusiastic mode of life. His followers condemned other Christians for shrinking from martyrdom, and maintained that it

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[1] Iren., *Contr. haer.*, lib. 1, c. 13, § 5. For further information about Marcus, see Iren., *Contr. haer.*, lib. 1, c. 13–22; Tertullian., *Aduers. Valentin.*, c. 4; *De resur. carn.*, c. 5; the anonymous work *Aduers. omnes haer.*, c. 5; *Philosophum.*, lib. 6, c. 40–56; Philastr., *De haer. post Christ.*, c. 14; Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 4, c. 11; Epiphan., *Aduers. haer.*, lib. 1 [v. 41, pp. 581–626 of Migne's ed.]; Hieronymus, *Comment. in Isai.* [v. 24, p. 623 of Migne's ed.]; *Epist. ad Theodoram* [v. 22, p. 687 of Migne's ed.]; Augustin., *De haer.*, c. 14; and Theodoret., *Haer. fab. compend.*, lib. 1, c. 9.

was every Christian's duty, if called upon, to suffer death.[1] The Marcionites were firmly convinced that they alone possessed the true Christian teaching; and were careful not to admit to baptism any who were not ready to practise a life of the most rigid asceticism.[2]

Among the disciples of Marcion was a certain Apelles, who, however, was led away by the influence of a harlot named Philumene, and founded a sect of his own.[3] Like his master, he ascribed the Mosaic law to the Demiurgus; but he went much further than Marcion in his interpretation of it, and maintained that both the *Old Testament* and the *New* were very largely mixed up with fables.[4]

There was another of the early Christian writers, and one of the greatest of them, who, though originally a pupil of Justin Martyr, went over after his master's death to the Marcionites. This was Tatian. Some of the Gnostic ideas which he held are discernible in the works he wrote before he joined the Marcionites; but what especially attracted him towards that sect was the ascetic life of its members. This Tatian regarded as all-important; and we are told that he not only rejected marriage, but refrained entirely from the use of meat.[5] The immediate followers of Tatian called themselves Encra-

[1] Euseb., *De martyr. Palaest.*, c. 10; and *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 7, c. 12.

[2] For further details about Marcion and his system, see Iren., *Contr. haer.*, lib. 1, c. 27-8; Tertullian., *Aduers. Marc.*, *passim*; the anonymous work *Aduers. omnes haer.*, c. 6; *Philosophum.*, lib. 7, c. 29–31, and lib. 10, c. 19; Philastr., *De haer. post Christ.*, c. 17; Epiphan., *Aduers. haer.*, lib. 1 [v. 41, pp. 695–818 of Migne's ed.]; Augustin., *De haer.*, c. 22; and Theodoret., *Haer. fab. compend.*, lib. 1, c. 24.

[3] See Tertullian., *Aduers. Marc.*, lib. 3, c. 11; *De praescrip. aduers. haer.*, c. 6 and 30. But the account in Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 5, c. 13, would seem to give Apelles a better character.

[4] For further particulars about Apelles, see Tertullian., *Aduers. Marc.*, lib. 3, c. 11; *De praescrip. aduers. haer.*, c. 6, 30, 33, 34, and 37; the anonymous work *Aduers. omnes haer.*, c. 6; *Philosophum.*, lib. 7, c. 38–9, and lib. 10, c. 20; Origen., *Contr. Cels.*, lib. 5, c. 54; Philastr., *De haer. post Christ.*, c. 19; Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 5, c. 13; Epiphan., *Aduers. haer.*, lib. 1 [v. 41, pp. 821–32 of Migne's ed.]; Augustin., *De haer.*, c. 23; and Theodoret., *Haer. fab. compend.*, lib. 1, c. 25.

[5] Hieron., *Aduers. Iouin.*, lib. 1, c. 3 [v. 23, pp. 212–14 of Migne's ed.].

tites, the "pure ones," and their successors, who went still further, became known as Severians, or Cathares, or Saccophores, or Apotactes, according as the folly of their leaders brought one idea or another into especial prominence.[1]

In addition to these sects there arose in the reign of Marcus Aurelius still another, the Montanists. They taught no new system of theology. Their innovation was rather one of method; and in some respects they were not unlike the Methodists of the nineteenth century. The founder of this sect was Montanus, an enthusiast, born at Pepuza, on the boundary between Mysia and Phrygia. He called himself the Paraclete; and was soon joined by a number of followers, who regarded themselves as prophets or prophetesses, and among whom the chief were two wealthy women named Maximilla and Priscilla. Montanus himself believed that he was a prophet sent by God to complete the reformation which the Saviour had begun on earth. He encouraged a fanatical enthusiasm for martyrdom; he declared it wrong for any Christian to enter military service; and finally his disciples came to look upon marriage as a disgrace. The rigorous morals of this sect attracted many of the purest souls of the time, as well as many hypocrites. Tertullian at last became a Montanist, and so did Theodotus. Of the various parties into which the Montanists split up, the most important were the Priscillians, the Artotyrites, and the Trascodrugites.[2]

Finally came the Alogi, a sect whose teaching was directly opposite to the teaching of the Montanists. They hated every

[1] On the views of Tatian and his followers, see, in addition to Tatian's own works, Iren., *Contr. haer.*, lib. 1, c. 28, and lib. 3, c. 23; the anonymous work *Aduers. omnes haer.*, c. 7; *Philosophum.*, lib. 8, c. 16 and 20, and lib. 10, c. 18; Philastr., *De haer. post Christ.*, c. 20; Epiphan., *Aduers. haer.*, lib. 1 [v. 41, pp. 835–46 of Migne's ed.]; Augustin., *De haer.*, c. 25; Hieron., *De uir. illust.*, c. 29; and Theodoret., *Haer. fab. compend.*, lib. 1, c. 20.

[2] On Montanism, see Tertullian., *De ieiun.*, c. 1; *Aduers Praxean.*, c. 1; *Philosophum.*, lib. 8, c. 19, and lib. 10, c. 25; Philastr., *De haer. post Christ.*, c. 55; Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 5, c. 14, 16, and 18; Epiphan., *Aduers. haer.*, lib. 2 [v. 41, pp. 855–82 of Migne's ed.]; Augustin., *De haer.*, c. 26–8; Hieron., *Epist. ad Marcellam* [v. 22, pp. 474–6 of Migne's ed.]; and Theodoret., *Haer. fab. compend.*, lib. 3, c. 2.

sort of mysticism, and, going to the other extreme, were scarcely distinguishable from our modern deists. Their existence was of short duration, but it was important, as being the first appearance of an attitude which was later to become prominent under the names of Sabellianism, Arianism, and Pelagianism.[1]

Such was the Christianity with which the world was afflicted in the second century. Perhaps, however, it would be more correct to say that this was the Christianity which made itself most prominent; for doubtless there were many in the Church who endeavored quietly to inculcate the simple doctrines of their faith. But even among those who have since been recognized as orthodox there was much that would hardly be regarded as Christianity to-day. Even the best Christians of that time were absurdly fantastic in their interpretation of the *Bible*. For example, Justin finds in the *Old Testament* name Joshua a reference to Jesus.[2] The marriages of Jacob with Leah and Rachel prove that Christ's Church is to consist of both Jews and Gentiles.[3] The two goats which Moses presented for sacrifice are a symbol of the two Advents.[4] In the twelve bells attached to the high-priest's robe the twelve apostles are represented;[5] and the stretched-out hands of Moses are a symbol of the Cross.[6] In another place we learn that Justin placed confidence in dreams and magical impositions.[7] In the *Clementine homilies* we find a magical influence attributed to the water in baptism.[8] And Tertullian rehearses the many events in Jewish history where water played a part, in order to show that God has placed a special sacredness in water.[9] The statements in the *New Testament* relative to the Lord's Supper met with the same literal interpretation. Although

[1] On the Alogi, see Epiphan., *Aduers. haer.*, lib. 2 [v. 41, pp. 887–954 of Migne's ed.]; and Augustin., *De haer.*, c. 30.

[2] Iustin., *Dialog. cum Tryph.*, c. 113.

[3] Iustin., *Dialog. cum Tryph.*, c. 134.

[4] Iustin., *Dialog. cum Tryph.*, c. 111.

[5] Iustin., *Dialog. cum Tryph.*, c. 42.

[6] Iustin., *Dialog. cum Tryph.*, c. 90.

[7] Iustin., *Apol.* 1, c. 14.

[8] *Clement. homil.*, 8, c. 8, and 11, c. 24 and 26.

[9] Tertullian., *De baptismo*, c. 3, 4, 5, and 9.

the doctrines on that subject were very imperfectly formulated in the second century, yet the opinion prevailed quite generally that the bread and wine were actually the body and blood of Jesus, so that Tertullian exhibits great dread lest any of the wine should be spilled.[1] But the passages which the early Christians were most fond of interpreting literally were those that referred to the second Advent of our Lord. It was very gratifying to the hopes of the Christians to believe that Jesus would actually come down to this world in his glory; and their imaginations permitted them to believe he would do so within a short time, probably before their own lives were over. The belief in a millennium became almost universal; Papias of Hierapolis, Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian all acquiesced in the idea.[2] This literal method of interpretation did most harm by the speculations to which its adherents were driven in order to account for the strange notions they discovered in the *Bible;* thus the door was opened for endless controversy. Tertullian enters into a discussion as to the probable nature of the body after it has risen. In answer to the objection that our bodies possess some organs which can be of no use in heaven, he replies that many of the organs can be put to other uses than those for which we employ them now.[3] Justin makes the souls of the pious take up their abode temporarily in a somewhat better, those of the wicked in a somewhat worse, place than was granted them here on earth.[4] He even stigmatizes as heretical the doctrine that souls are received into heaven immediately after death.[5] But he admits that they possess a presentiment of their future destiny.[6] Tatian, Theophilus, and Irenæus inclined to the belief that the soul is not immortal in itself, but is made so by God.[7] The interminable question of free-will

[1] Tertullian., *De coron.*, c. 3.

[2] Iustin., *Dialog. cum Tryph.*, c. 80 and 81; Iren., *Contr. haer.*, lib. 5, c. 33, § 4; Tertullian., *Aduers. Marc.*, lib. 3, c. 24; and Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 3, c. 39.

[3] Tertullian., *De resur. carn.*, c. 60–1.

[4] Iustin., *Dialog. cum Tryph.*, c. 5.

[5] Iustin., *Dialog. cum Tryph.*, c. 80.

[6] Iustin., *Cohort. ad Graec.*, c. 35.

[7] Tatian., *Orat. aduers. Graec.*, c. 13; Theophilus, *Ad Autol.*, lib. 2, c. 27; and Iren., *Contr. haer.*, lib. 2, c. 34.

had made its appearance among the Christians even in those early days. Bardesanes grappled with the enigma in his book on *Fate*. He thought he had found the solution when he divided all things into Nature, Fortune, and Free-will.[1] The acts connected with our bodies are ruled by Nature;[2] but it depends upon Fortune what shall be our Nature, whether it shall be good or bad.[3] And Fortune, according to the system of Bardesanes, would seem to be nothing else than the will of God; for in one place[4] he says, "Nor is there any one who doth not delight within himself when he refraineth from wicked things, with the exception of those who were not made for this grace." In other words, God determines beforehand whether we shall be good or bad. Nevertheless we have free-will, for in each particular act we have our choice between doing good and doing evil; and "those things which we do by our own Free-will, if they be good, by them we are justified and praised, and if they be wicked, by them we are condemned and blamed."[5]

It is manifest that so many and such opposing views could not long live in harmony together. The very fact that all these different thinkers pretended to be followers of Christ was in itself sufficient to arouse the indignation of every Christian who held a contrary opinion. Each man deemed it his duty to protect the faith from all heretical accretions. Each sect regarded itself as alone possessing the true faith, and denounced all other followers of Christ as heretics. Thus, a mere difference of opinion soon ripened into a genuine hostility; and the warmth with which the strife was carried on added still further to the breach. Tertullian's sarcasm, though not published till a few years after the death of Marcus Aurelius, yet gives us a good idea of the bitter hostility which raged within the Christian Church throughout Marcus's reign. "Nothing," he says, "in Pontus is so barbarous

[1] Bardesan., *Fragment.* [p. 14, line 32 of Cureton's ed.].
[2] Bardesan., *Fragment.* [p. 8, line 21].
[3] Bardesan., *Fragment.* [p. 14, line 10].
[4] Bardesan., *Fragment.* [p. 6, line 22].
[5] Bardesan., *Fragment.* [p. 10, line 27].

and sad as the fact that Marcion was born there, fouler than any Scythian, more roving than the wagon-life of the Sarmatian, more inhuman than the Massagete, more audacious than an Amazon, darker than the Pontic cloud, colder than its winter, more brittle than its ice, more deceitful than the Ister, more craggy than Caucasus. Nay, more, the true Prometheus, Almighty God, is mangled by Marcion's blasphemies. Marcion is more savage than even the beasts of that barbarous region. For what beaver was ever a greater emasculator than he who has abolished the nuptial bond? What Pontic mouse ever had such gnawing powers as he who has gnawed the *Gospels* to pieces? Verily, O Euxine, thou hast produced a monster more credible to philosophers than to Christians."[1] The followers of Marcion, it seems, were strongly addicted to astrology. This fact gave Tertullian another opportunity for a hit at them. "They do not," he says, "blush to get their livelihood by help of the very stars which were made by the Creator whom they depreciate."[2] The Valentinians were even more extravagant than the Marcionites. "On what principle," asks Tertullian, "did Marcion confine his supreme powers to two? I would first ask, If there be two, why not more? Because, if number be compatible with the substance of Deity, the richer you make it in number the better. Valentinus was more consistent and more liberal; for he, having once imagined two deities, Bythus and Sige, poured forth a swarm of divine essences, a brood of no less than thirty Æons, like the sow of Æneas."[3] In another place Tertullian says that the Valentinians "care for nothing so much as to obscure what they preach;" and he adds that they "have formed Eleusinian Mysteries of their own, consecrated by a profound silence, having nothing of the heavenly in them but their mystery."[4] Even Justin Martyr, who seldom descends to so personal a charge, exclaims, "And there is Marcion, a man of Pontus, who is even

[1] Tertullian., *Aduers. Marc.*, lib. 1, c. 1.
[2] Tertullian., *Aduers. Marc.*, lib. 1, c. 18.
[3] Tertullian., *Aduers. Marc.*, lib. 1, c. 5.
[4] Tertullian., *Aduers. Valentin.*, c. 1.

at this day alive, and teaching his disciples to believe in some other god greater than the Creator. By the aid of the devils, he has caused many of every nation to speak blasphemies, and to deny that God is the maker of this universe, and to assert that some other, greater than he, has done greater works."[1] To such attacks the Gnostics seldom ventured any extended reply. Their favorite retort was to call their opponents a "simple people."[2]

But the Pagan writers were not satisfied to let the matter rest so easily. The wrangling inside the Church, however little it accomplished in settling the disputes which had arisen, served, at any rate, to bring the doctrines of Christianity before the literary world. It was no longer possible for the Roman scholars to maintain the contemptuous silence with which they had hitherto watched the growth of the new religion. Christianity had become one of the prominent features of the times; and the reign of Marcus Aurelius marks the point at which it first became exposed to the polemics of satirists and philosophers. The first studied attack made against Christianity by the philosophers was that of Crescentius, a Cynic, and contemporary of Justin. He is said to have attacked Christianity with great acrimony; but unfortunately his works are lost.[3] Another scholar who is believed to have written against Christianity is the Emperor's teacher, Fronto; but his work has not come down to us.[4] By far the greatest

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[1] Iustin., *Apol.* 1, c. 26. See also Iustin., *Apol.* 1, c. 58.

[2] Tertullian., *Aduers. Valentin.*, c. 2.

[3] In the absence of his own writings, our only authorities with regard to Crescentius are Iustin., *Apol.* 2, c. 3; Tatian., *Orat. aduers. Graec.*, c. 19; and Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 4, c. 16.

[4] The only writer who speaks of this work of Fronto is Minucius Felix, in his *Octauius*, c. 31. The Fronto there referred to was a rhetorician; and in *Octauius*, c. 9, a certain Cirtensian is spoken of. These two statements, taken together, would seem to establish the identity of Fronto, the enemy of Christianity, with Marcus's teacher Fronto, who was a native of the town of Cirta. And that view would be in nowise contradicted by what we know of Fronto's character, or the influence which he had upon his pupil. That Marcus's letters make no mention of his master's work proves nothing; for there is a lacuna in these letters extending over

opponent of Christianity in these times was Celsus, an Epicurean philosopher, who had studied the doctrines of Christianity, and wrote his Λόγος ἀληθής, or *True discourse*, in order to refute them.[1] The fundamental objection which Celsus makes to Christianity is that he sees no reason for believing Jesus to have been the Son of God. Why, he asks, although you yourselves acknowledge that many others have claimed to be the sons of God, do you draw a distinction between them and Jesus?[2] You will, perhaps, maintain that Jesus was very different from these pretenders; for he accomplished great works. Let us see. Did the Jews not challenge him to give a sign; and did he not refuse?[3] You answer that he did give them a sign, in that he suffered death. But, my friends, that is no argument. If that is sufficient to

a space of fifteen years; and, moreover, we have no reason for supposing that the work of Fronto was anything more than an oration delivered, it is not unlikely, to his pupils. In judging of Fronto's attitude towards Christianity, and, indeed, in estimating the general activity of polemic writers during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, it is well to recollect that the writings which were hostile to Christianity have stood a much poorer chance of being saved than those written in its favor. Not only were Christian writings regarded by succeeding ages as more valuable than the Pagan; but those works which appeared injurious to the Christian religion were, on more than one occasion, sought out and burned. This was done with the writings of Arius, by order of Constantine, in 325. See Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 1, c. 9; and Sozomen., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 1, c. 20–1. And in Iustinian., *Cod.*, lib. 1, tit. 1, c. 3, we find an edict of Theodosius II. and Valentinian III., dated April 16, 449, which reads as follows: "We decree that all the works which Porphyrius, in his wild insanity, or any one else, has written, hostile to the pious Christian religion, no matter with whom they may be found, shall be burned. We intend that every writing which could excite the divine wrath or contaminate the soul shall be destroyed." It is not impossible that Fronto's attack on Christianity was destroyed at this time, along with many others.

[1] Of this book we possess only the fragments preserved by Origen in his work, *Contra Celsum;* but the citations there are so numerous that we are enabled to gain a very perfect idea of the book which he endeavors to overthrow. With regard to the date of the *True discourse* there has been much dispute. An exhaustive discussion of the subject can be seen in Aubé's *Hist. des persec. La polémique*, pp. 164–97. That author agrees with the prevailing opinion, that it was written towards the close of the year 178. [2] Origen., *Contr. Cels.*, lib. 1, c. 57. [3] Lib. 1, c. 67.

prove a man to be a son of God, then a number of you are sons of God; for a good many of Jesus's followers have suffered just as painful a death as he did.[1] Indeed, many of you have led much more noble lives than his; for he was always skulking about, and was afraid to come into Jerusalem.[2] He was no better than anybody else. He had to eat food; does a God eat food?[3] And, moreover, it is evident that even his own disciples had no confidence in him; for we are told that they themselves betrayed him.[4] Assuredly they never would have betrayed him, if they had regarded him as a God.[5] Even a good general is never betrayed; is it likely, then, that these men would have betrayed their God?[6]

But, more than this, your whole idea about the Son of God is degrading. It is impossible for God to become man; for that is making God deteriorate.[7] Don't you suppose that God can come among us without passing through a virgin's womb?[8] And what in the world did he want to live on the earth for anyway? Did he want to learn what men were doing?[9] You say no; that he came to instruct us in what we ought to do. Then why didn't he come before? What was the use of letting the world go wrong so many years?[10] Perhaps you will say that in former days he thought we were doing right; but that he changed his mind about it.[11] Well, if that was so, then why didn't he let us all know that we were going wrong? What was the use of coming down into a little corner of the earth, away off in one of the eastern provinces?[12] And if Jesus was sent here to show us God, why didn't he do so? Who that is sent as a messenger ever conceals himself when he ought to make known his message?[13] You say he did show himself. Well, so he did, when he was undergoing his punishment. But why didn't he do so afterwards in his glory, if, as you say, he rose from the dead?[14]

You see, your whole religion is full of inconsistencies. Why, you make God utterly devoid of power. Why did it

[1] Lib. 2, c. 44. [2] Lib. 1, c. 61. [3] Lib. 1, c. 70. [4] Lib. 2, c. 11.
[5] Lib. 2, c. 18. [6] Lib. 2, c. 12. [7] Lib. 4, c. 14. [8] Lib. 6, c. 73.
[9] Lib. 4, c. 3. [10] Lib. 4, c. 7. [11] Lib. 7, c. 18. [12] Lib. 6, c. 78.
[13] Lib. 2, c. 70. [14] Lib. 2, c. 70.

take him so many days to create the world; wasn't he strong enough to do it all at once?[1] I suppose that must have been the reason; for you tell us that he took a day to rest after he had finished his work.[2] And again, why did an angel come to roll away the stone from the sepulchre? Couldn't God roll it away without the help of some one else?[3] Then take another case; how do you suppose it possible that Jesus should be a direct descendant from the old Jewish kings, and yet his mother, a common laboring woman, know nothing about it?[4] Really, your teaching is difficult to understand. In one passage you tell us that Jesus was a God, and in the next you bewail the sufferings which he underwent. How can a God undergo suffering?[5] I should be very sorry to cavil; but your religion seems to me selfish. You boast that God made the universe for your sake, and you say that the only animal he cares for is man.[6] Now I should like to ask why the matter which forms your body is to be immortal any more than the other matter in the universe? I must confess I am unable to understand why you are so eager to have your soul forever fettered by this filthy worm-eaten body.[7] And if your body is to go along with you into another life, you are certainly not wise in subjecting it to the tortures which you do.[8] You are calling these persecutions upon yourselves by your own foolishness. If God is, as you maintain, the God of the whole world, then why do you refuse to join us when we worship him?[9] I say you are very narrow. Why can't you manage to serve two masters, as other people do?[10] The fact is, in reality, that you do serve more than a single master. For when your God sends his servant to you, you worship him.[11] I have but one more remark to make, and that is this: your whole religion is proved to be without foundation by the fact that your God does not revenge himself upon those who persecute his followers.[12]

Even from this meagre synopsis of Celsus's book, it will be

[1] Lib. 6, c. 60. [2] Lib. 6, c. 61. [3] Lib. 5, c. 58. [4] Lib. 2, c. 32.
[5] Lib. 2, c. 23. [6] Lib. 4, c. 23, and lib. 4, c. 99. [7] Lib. 5, c. 14.
[8] Lib. 8, c. 49. [9] Lib. 8, c. 21. [10] Lib. 8, c. 2. [11] Lib. 8, c. 12.
[12] Lib. 2, c. 35.

manifest that the author was a man of no ordinary powers. Celsus was an Epicurean, a school which corresponded in the imperial times pretty nearly to the Materialists of to-day. His views on religious matters, however, were not very clear. The Epicureans did not, as a rule, come out strongly in opposition to the national creed; but their aim was always to materialize the popular belief in the gods. This is the attitude which Celsus, in his *True discourse*, takes with regard to Christianity. He assumes, for the sake of argument, that there is a God; but he fights vehemently against the idea that God interferes at all in the affairs of this world. The arguments which he uses are at times illogical; but they are always clever. To each point of Christian doctrine he applies the microscope and dissecting-knife, with a dexterity which few opponents of Christianity to-day can rival. Every flaw in the system he detects with masterly ingenuity; and Origen, in more cases than one, is outwitted in the contest. But in studying the work of Celsus we cannot fail to observe that there is a large portion of Christianity which he leaves entirely unexplored, as, indeed, he is bound to do by his rejection of all supersensual knowledge. The moral and religious beauties of the structure are beyond his reach. He can criticise in those realms where his experience of physical phenomena can guide him, but no further. The truths of Christianity which are based upon intuition, upon the supersensuous feelings, are left intact; and it was by means of them that the Church was destined in later ages to win acceptance throughout the Empire.

While Celsus was thus attacking Christianity with the weapons of a scholar and a critic, another man, a friend of Celsus, was making the new religion the object of his sarcasm and his wit. Lucian was the most perfect master of satire that the second century produced. His education was superficial, and he cared little for knowledge of any kind. His argumentative faculties were weak, and he looked upon argument as beneath his genius. Philosophy he detested more than anything else in the world, unless, perhaps, religion. Ridicule was his tool, and philosophy and religion were his butts. The

sober attitude which his friend Celsus took towards Christianity he could not understand; and it was very likely in order to show Celsus the folly of his ways that Lucian joined him in his attacks. The only work in which Lucian mentions unequivocally the followers of Christ is his *De morte Peregrini;* but it was not necessary to speak of them by name, for the work is throughout an obvious satire upon their practices. The hero of the story is a certain Proteus Peregrinus, a Cynic philosopher of some note, who committed suicide, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, by throwing himself into the fire, near Olympia.[1] Lucian appears to have witnessed the event, and the voluntary death of this philosopher struck him as so similar to the fanaticism of the Christian martyrs, that he determined to expose in a single work the absurdity of philosophy and Christianity. Proteus, so the story begins, after a boyhood stained by all sorts of crimes, and accused, among other charges, of having contributed to his father's death, left his native land and began a journey through the world. In the course of his travels he came to Palestine, where he joined himself to the Christians, and was initiated into the mysteries of their religion. So rapidly did he acquire their secrets that before long these poor people were but children in comparison with him. They made him prophet, leader of their company, chief-priest. He explained and interpreted their books, and even composed new ones for himself. The Christians looked upon him as a legislator, they chose him to be their president, and finally they came to consider him a god. They continued, however, to worship the great magus who was crucified in Palestine for introducing the mysteries which they practise; and before long Peregrinus was thrown into prison for a like cause. But "no sooner was he in confinement, than the Christians, who looked upon it as a great disappointment to the common cause, at-

[1] On Proteus Peregrinus see, in addition to Lucian., *De morte Peregrini*, the following: Gellius, *Noct. Attic.*, lib. 1, c. 11; Tatian., *Orat. aduers. Graec.*, c. 25; Athenagoras, *Supplicat. pro Christ.*, c. 26; Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.*, lib. 2, c. 1, § 13; Tertullian., *Ad martyr.*, c. 4; and Ammian. Marcellin., *Rer. gest.*, lib. 29, c. 1, § 39.

tempted by all possible means to procure his release; and not succeeding, they let him at least want for nothing, and were the more assiduous in affording him every supply that could conduce to his accommodation and comfort. By the first dawn of day a number of old women, widows, and young orphans were seen hovering about the prison; some of the most important among them even bribed the jailers, and kept constantly about him. Likewise, sumptuous meals were carried in to him, and they read their sacred books together; in short, their dear Peregrine, as they used to call him, was to them a second Socrates. Several even came from different cities in Asia, as deputies from the Christians in those parts, to offer their assistance, to be his advocates when on his trial, and to comfort him. For these people, in all such cases, where the interest of the whole community is concerned, are inconceivably alert and active, sparing neither trouble nor expense. Accordingly Peregrine, by his imprisonment, amassed money to a large amount, in consequence of the presents that were sent him, and raised a considerable income from it. For these poor people have taken it into their heads that they shall, body and soul, be immortal, and live to all eternity; thence it is that they contemn death, and that many of them run voluntarily into his clutches. Besides, their original legislator taught them that they were all brothers, when they had taken the great step to renounce the Grecian deities, and bow their knee to their crucified sophist, and live in conformity to his laws. All things else they despise in the lump, holding them vain and worthless, without having a competent reason for being attached to these opinions. Whenever, therefore, any cunning impostor applies to them, who understands the proper trick, he finds it an easy matter to lead these simple people by the nose, and very soon to become a rich man at their expense. Peregrine, however, after a formal trial, was set at liberty by the governor of Syria, a great lover of philosophy, who, on perceiving what absurd notions had filled the head of this poor creature, and that he was fool enough, out of vanity and the lust of posthumous fame, voluntarily to die, chose rather to give him his discharge, as not thinking him

worth chastising." Lucian then continues his tirade against Christianity by recounting that Peregrinus afterwards determined to make over all his property to the people of his native town; but that he soon repented of his liberality, and tried to get the property back again. This incensed the people to such a degree that he had to flee once more. The Christians received him on his return with open arms, but, unfortunately, one day he was caught eating some kind of food that their tenets interdicted; and so they turned him out. He then found his way to Egypt, "where he signalized himself by a quite new and admirable method of practical virtue; he shaved one half of his head, daubed his face over with mud, whipped himself with a rod, and invited others to do it for him, and, to show that such acts were among the adiaphora, played a number of other ridiculous and scandalous pranks, whereby he endeavored to acquire the reputation of being an extraordinary man. After these excellent preparatives, he took sail for Italy, and no sooner had he landed there than he began to abuse and vilify all the world, particularly the Emperor, who was known to be a sovereign of such a mild and gentle disposition that he might boldly utter anything against him." The Emperor deemed the fellow beneath his notice, but the people soon became so enraged against him that they would have stoned him to death if he had not fled. At last he hit upon a plan for retrieving his injured reputation. He proclaimed everywhere that at the next Olympic festival he would throw himself into the fire. This he really did, in Lucian's presence. Lucian then adds that, after it was over, "to the simpletons who came open-mouthed, eager to gulp down anything right marvellous, I had recourse to some tragical embellishments of my own invention; telling them with the utmost gravity that, as soon as the pile was in a blaze, and Proteus had jumped in, the earth began to quake tremendously, after which a rumbling noise ensued, and from out the flames a vulture flew up, taking his course direct to the skies, shouting out in human voice: 'Soaring above the earth, I ascend to Olympus.' At this account the poor people were all amazement, shud-

dered with awe, and secretly sent up devout ejaculations to the new demigod." "You may, therefore, picture to yourself what miraculous things will in consequence be related of him; how the bees will flock to hive in his fireplace, what crickets will there be gathered together, what flocks of crows, as formerly at the tomb of Hesiod, will there flutter about, and so forth. Of this I am persuaded, that the Elians, no less than the other Greeks, to whom he had already written circular letters, will presently erect statues to him in abundance. For it is confidently affirmed that he issued briefs to several considerable cities, containing various exhortations and new institutes and regulations, as a sort of last will and testament; and some of his disciples, under the titles of messengers from the dead, or couriers from the shades below, are employed in the transmission of these epistles."[1]

The Christian Church, being at length brought forth from her hiding-place by the polemics of philosophers and satirists, found it necessary to appear in public in her own defence; and thus the reign of Marcus Aurelius not only marks the beginning of polemics, it also displays the first of the great apologists.[2] As would naturally be expected, the earliest apologists were all philosophers who had been converted to Christianity. Justin tells us the reasons which induced him to embrace the new religion. "I myself," he says, "when I was delighting in the doctrines of Plato, and heard the Christians slandered, and saw them fearless of death, and of all other things which are counted fearful, perceived that it was impossible that they could be living in wickedness and pleasure."[3] And "when I discovered the wicked disguise which

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[1] This account of Proteus Peregrinus is taken from Lucian's work, *De morte Peregrini.*

[2] The first apologist of all was a philosopher named Aristides, who presented his *Apology* to the Emperor Hadrian in 125. See Hieron., *De vir. illust.*, c. 20; and *Epist. ad Magnum* [v. 22, p. 667 of Migne's ed.]. There was also another, named Quadratus, who wrote an *Apology* shortly after 126. See Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 3, c. 37, lib. 4, c. 3, and lib. 5, c. 17. But the works of both these men are lost.

[3] Iustin., *Apol.* 2, c. 12.

the evil spirits had thrown around the divine doctrines of the Christians, to turn aside others from joining them, I laughed both at those who framed these falsehoods, and at the disguise itself, and at popular opinion; and I confess that I both boast and with all my strength strive to be found a Christian."[1] It was with the intention of disabusing the minds of others of the falsehoods by which he had been himself deceived that Justin composed his two *Apologies*, one in the reign of Antoninus Pius, the other probably within a few years after Marcus Aurelius ascended the throne. Justin appears never to have occupied any official position in the Church; and his works, though marked with an enthusiasm for his cause, are pervaded throughout by a liberal spirit of inquiry. He is not an enemy of philosophy; he has merely given it up because he has found something better. According to Justin, there is much that is commendable in the old Greek philosophers, but whatever is good among them is Christianity. "Socrates," he says, "was persecuted, like ourselves, and, like us, he was accused of introducing new divinities, and of not believing in the national gods. Socrates, however, did not know the entire truth. He was only acquainted with Christ in part."[2] This plain, straightforward method of investigation was eminently successful in winning proselytes to the faith. Chief among those who were induced by the teaching of Justin to embrace Christianity was Tatian, who himself became famous in later life as an apologist. Tatian tells us that he was born in Assyria, was instructed in the Greek mythology, and finally was converted to Christianity.[3] The fruit of his conversion was his *Oratio aduersus Graecos*, written in order to prove to the Greeks the superiority of Christianity over their mythology. This work, like those of his master, is written in a charitable spirit, and sets forth in a clear manner the essentials of the Christian faith. Another writer who followed in the same spirit was Claudius Apollinarius, bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia. Besides be-

[1] Iustin., *Apol.* 2, c. 13.

[2] Iustin., *Apol.* 2, c. 10.

[3] Tatian., *Orat. aduers. Graec.*, c. 42.

ing the author of several other works, he presented to Marcus Aurelius, about 170, an *Apology*, which Jerome calls an excellent book,[1] but which, unfortunately, is lost.[2] Melito, bishop of Sardis, in Lydia, who lived about this time, also addressed an *Apology* to Marcus Aurelius. Only a few fragments of it have been saved; but those few are sufficient to show that the high esteem in which Melito was held by his contemporaries was not undeserved.[3] Athenagoras was another Greek philosopher, who, after his conversion to Christianity, proved his zeal by addressing an *Apology* for the new faith to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. This work is preserved, and in it we can trace clearly the Platonic ideas among which the author had been brought up. The apologetic spirit which was thus begun continued to display itself with unabated ardor in the years immediately following Marcus's death. In this place I can merely mention, as exhibiting the apologetic spirit, Theophilus of Antioch, the Clementine *Recognitiones* and *Homilia*, Minucius Felix, and Tertullian.

Had the Christians confined themselves to this moderate way of meeting the attacks of their opponents, it is not unlikely that their religion would have soon won universal favor. But many of the Christians preferred to meet the attacks of the Pagans by a counter-satire. They were unwilling to stand solely on the defensive, and some of their works have been preserved which display a purely aggressive policy. In this class was Hermias, a Christian philosopher of the second century. He called his book an *Irrisio gentilium philosophorum;* and he could not have found a name better suited to describe the nature of his work. Its aim was to point out the vacillating nature of the heathen philosophy. "Now I am immortal," he exclaims, "and I am happy; the next moment I am mortal, and in grief. Then I learn that I am to be dissolved into atoms; I become water, then air, then fire.

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[1] Hieron., *De vir. illust.*, c. 26.

[2] The fragments of Apollinarius have been collected by M. J. Routh, in his *Reliquiae sacrae.* Oxon., 1846. 4v. 8°. v. 1, pp. 155–74.

[3] The fragments of Melito have been collected by M. J. Routh, in his *Reliquiae sacrae.* Oxon., 1846. 4v. 8°. v. 1, pp. 111–53.

Next I am turned into a beast, and a fish; dolphins are my brothers. But when I see my body, I am afraid, and do not know what name to call it by, whether it is a man, or a dog, or a wolf, or a bull, or a bird, or a serpent, or a dragon, or a chimera. For the philosophers change me in turn into every kind of animal, terrestrial, aquatic, aërial, multiform, wild, tame, dumb, musical, irrational, and then rational. Lastly comes Empedocles, and I am a tree."[1] The Pagans naturally did not relish such attacks as this; and we can well believe that the *Irrisio* roused their indignation greatly. But the thing that fanned their excitement to its highest pitch of fury was the boldness with which the Christians predicted the speedy downfall of their enemies. The twentieth chapter of the *Apocalypse* came in time to be universally applied to Rome; and, indeed, it may well be that the writer so intended it. The second book of Esdras was written by a fanatical Christian in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and it is to this same period that a large portion of the *Sibylline oracles* belong. These verses do not hesitate to pour out their indignation on Rome herself. We shall quote only from those parts which are believed to have been written in the reign of Marcus.[2] The fifth book begins: "Now let me tell of the calamities which shall befall the illustrious Latins;"[3] and a little farther on the vice of the capital is pictured with astounding boldness. The oracle then declares that Rome shall be visited with a severer punishment than any other city.[4]

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[1] Hermias, *Irrisio*, c. 2.

[2] For the dates when the different portions of the *Oracula Sibyllina* were composed, see the exhaustive discussion in Alexandre's *Excursus ad Sibyllina* [pub. as v. 2 of his edition of the *Oracula Sibyllina*]; and the concise statement in Champagny's *Antonins*, v. 3, pp. 427–31.

[3] *Orac. Sibyl.*, lib. 5, ver. 1:

Ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι στονόεντα χρόνον κλεινῶν τε Λατίνων.

[4] *Orac. Sibyl.*, lib. 5, ver. 165–70:

Μοιχεῖαι παρὰ σοὶ, καὶ παίδων μίξις ἄθεσμος,
Θηλυγενὴς, ἄδικός τε, κακὴ πόλι, δύσμορε πασῶν.
Αἶ αἶ, πάντ' ἀκάθαρτε πόλι Λατινίδος αἴης,
Μαινὰς ἐχιδνοχαρὴς, χήρη καθέδοιο παρ' ὄχθας,

Her army shall be of no avail in saving her;[1] and the unhappy emperor who is at that day on the throne will call his senate together to consult—how they may die.[2] It is surprising to note how bold the Christians grew when their enemies attacked them; the hostility of the Pagans only served to increase their arrogance. "Your public assemblies," cries Justin, "I have come to hate. For there are excessive banquetings, and subtle flutes, which provoke to lustful movements, and useless and luxurious anointings, and crowning with garlands. With such a mass of evils do you banish shame; and ye fill your minds with them, and are carried away by intemperance, and indulge as a common practice in wicked and insane fornication."[3]

The excitement, which was thus grown so intense throughout the intellectual world, could not fail to produce its influence upon the people. From the very first, Christianity had found a bitter enemy in the lower classes. The reason of this hostility it is not difficult to conceive. Whenever, under any government, there exists a class of people whose interests are entirely different from those of the majority, that class will always be unpopular. And when that class boldly sets itself up in opposition to the interests of their fellow-citizens, the hatred of their opponents will invariably display itself in force. Now it must be remembered that the Christians who first came to Rome were mainly Jews. The very name was enough to create opprobrium in the Roman mind; and the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and the subsequent rebellion of Barcocheba only served to keep alive this hatred. Conse-

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Καὶ ποταμὸς Τίβερίς σε κλαύσεται, ἣν παράκοιτιν,
Ἦτε μιαιφόνον ἦτορ ἔχεις, ἀσεβῆ δέ τε θυμόν.

[1] *Orac. Sibyl.*, lib. 8, ver. 145–6:

Οὐκέτι νικήσειε πέδον Ῥώμης ἐριθήλου,
Ὁππόταν ἐξ Ἀσίης κρατέων ἔλθῃ σὺν ἄρηϊ.

[2] *Orac. Sibyl.*, lib. 8, ver. 176–7:

Καὶ τότ' ἔπειτ' αὖθις κρείων ἔμπροσθεν ὁ τλήμων,
Συγκαλέσας βουλήν, βουλεύσεται ὡς ἀπολέσσει.

[3] Iustin., *Orat. ad Graec.*, c. 4.

quently, we find the Christians taunted often with their origin. Tatian speaks of the fact that the Greeks jeered at the Christians under the name of "barbarians;"[1] and as late as Ælius Aristides we find the Christians confounded with the Jews.[2] Even after the Church had become composed almost entirely of Gentile people, it continued to preserve many of the old Jewish characteristics. It would be too much to say that the early Christians brought with them from Palestine the Jewish conception of a national religion; yet it is certain that, when they spoke about their kingdom, many of the Romans understood them to have in mind a temporal supremacy.[3] At any rate, they in so far regarded themselves as superior that they kept almost exclusively to themselves, and avoided publicity whenever they could.[4] If we are to believe the *Constitutiones apostolicae*, they were forbidden to converse in public.[5] This was not the method pursued by Jesus, and it very naturally won the hatred of the Romans. The Christians also made themselves odious to the people by avoiding the gladiatorial shows, "lest we become partakers and abettors of murders;" and by refusing to attend the other spectacles, "lest our eyes and ears be defiled, participating in the utterances there sung."[6] In all these ways the Christians rendered themselves obnoxious to their fellow-citizens; so that by the time of Marcus Aurelius we find that they were often spoken of as "enemies of the human race."[7]

When, now, the people found themselves supported by the literary world, they attacked the new religion with redoubled ardor. Celsus had denounced the disciples of Jesus as deceivers,[8] and Jesus himself as an impostor.[9] Lucian had sneered

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[1] Tatian., *Orat. aduers. Graec.*, c. 30.

[2] Aristides, *Orat.* 46 [v. 2, pp. 402–3 of Dindorf's ed.].

[3] Iustin., *Apol.* 1, c. 11.

[4] Origen., *Contr. Cels.*, lib. 3, c. 55.

[5] *Constit. apost.*, lib. 1, c. 4, and lib. 2, c. 62.

[6] Theophil., *Ad Autol.*, lib. 3, c. 15.

[7] Tertullian., *Apologet.*, c. 37: *Hostes maluistis uocare generis humani.*

[8] Origen., *Contr. Cels.*, lib. 1, c. 40, and lib. 2, c. 13, 26, and 55.

[9] Origen., *Contr. Cels.*, lib. 1, c. 68, and lib. 2, c. 1 and 49.

at them as themselves deceived by their great sophist.[1] The crowd were willing to take either view. Of one thing they were certain, that they hated the "barbarians;" and now that the philosophers and wits were on the side of the people, the Christians were exposed to even greater cruelties than before. It is surprising to note to what extravagant accusations the people were led by their hatred of Christianity. They confounded the followers of Jesus with the other impostors that were spread throughout the Empire at this time. They accused them of attracting, by their wild mysteries, all the fanatics and weak-minded persons in the Empire; and it became the prevailing opinion that the Christians were corrupting the public morals by seeking out their proselytes only among the women and children of the heathen.[2] The persistence with which they kept away from the Roman worship exposed them to the charge of atheism;[3] and this accusation found strong supporters in the Jews, who could not bear to have the worship of Jehovah supplanted by that of Christ.[4] The frequent expressions of the Christians about eating the flesh and blood of Christ soon spread abroad the idea that they murdered children, and indulged in Thyestean banquets.[5] Finally, it came to be said that a promiscuous intercourse of the sexes took place among them.[6] This last charge seems to have had its origin in the freedom with which women were admitted to the Christian ceremonies, coupled with the fact that these usually took place at night. The brotherly kiss

[1] Lucian., *Philopseud.*, c. 16; and *De morte Peregrini*, c. 13.

[2] Tatian., *Orat. aduers. Graec.*, c. 33.

[3] Iustin., *Apol.* 1, c. 5–6; and Athenag., *Supplicat. pro Christ.*, c. 3.

[4] Iustin., *Dialog. cum Tryph.*, c. 17 and 108; Tertullian., *Ad nation.*, lib. 1, c. 14; and Origen., *Contr. Cels.*, lib. 6, c. 27.

[5] Iustin., *Apol.* 1, c. 26; *Dialog. cum Tryph.*, c. 10; Tatian., *Orat. aduers. Graec.*, c. 25; Athenag., *Supplicat. pro Christ.*, c. 3 and 31; Theophil., *Ad Autol.*, lib. 3, c. 4; Minucius Felix, *Octauius*, c. 9 and 28; Tertullian., *Apologet.*, c. 7; and Origen., *Contr. Cels.*, lib. 6, c. 27 and 40.

[6] Iustin., *Apol.* 1, c. 26; *Dialog. cum Tryph.*, c. 10; Athenag., *Supplicat. pro Christ.*, c. 3 and 31; Theophil., *Ad Autol.*, lib. 3, c. 4; Minucius Felix, *Octauius*, c. 28; Tertullian., *Apologet.*, c. 7; and Origen., *Contr. Cels.*, lib. 6, c. 27 and 40.

with which their assemblies were closed may have had some connection with this slander; and, indeed, there is reason to believe that the charge was justly made against some of the heretical Christians, the followers of Carpocrates, for example. The prevailing idea with reference to the Christians can be seen from a passage in Minucius Felix, where he says they are represented as "leagued together by nightly meetings, and solemn fasts, and inhuman meats—not by any sacred rite, but by that which requires expiation—a people skulking and shunning the light, silent in public, but garrulous in corners."[1]

Unfortunately, the hostility of the Pagans did not confine itself to words. From the very earliest period of its history Christianity had found itself opposed by force. The Christian persecutions began as early as the reign of Tiberius, when "the founder of the sect was put to death by order of the *procurator*, Pontius Pilate;"[2] and they continued with more or less severity from that time onward. It was not, however, until the beginning of the second century that the Roman government first assumed a definite attitude towards the new religion. The persecution which the Church had suffered at the hands of Nero must certainly be regarded as erratic, and that which is said to have been planned by Domitian seems to have been futile. But, in the reign of Trajan, the Christians became so numerous in Bithynia, where the younger Pliny was proconsul, that it was found necessary to apply to the Emperor for some rule with regard to their treatment when brought up for trial. There were already on the statute-books certain laws enacted for the purpose of preventing trouble among the various secret societies which were in existence; and some of these societies were even declared to be *collegia illicita*. But, owing to the large number of those who had allied themselves with Christianity, Pliny was not certain whether or not the same rules ought to be applied for repressing the disturbances to which their meetings gave rise. In

[1] Minucius Felix, *Octauius*, c. 8.

[2] C. Cornelius Tacitus, *Annal.*, lib. 15, c. 44: *Auctor nominis eius Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus.*

the case that was presented to him, he acted in accordance with what seemed to him proper, punishing all those who refused to give up their Christian practices, and letting the others go.[1] He then wrote to the Emperor for advice, and received the following reply: "The method you have pursued, my dear Secundus, in the proceedings against those Christians who were brought before you, is quite right; as it is not possible to lay down any fixed rule by which to act in all cases of this nature. They are not to be sought out; but, if brought before you, and the crime is proved, they must be punished; with this restriction, however, that where the party denies that he is a Christian, and gives a practical proof of the fact, as, for example, by showing his reverence for our gods, then he is to be forgiven on account of his recantation, notwithstanding any suspicion there may be against him with regard to his past life. Anonymous informations are not to be received in prosecutions of any sort; for that would be a dangerous precedent to introduce, and one by no means agreeable to the equity of our government."[2] The important thing to note in this rescript is that it places the Christian religion unequivocally among the *collegia illicita*. The very fact of bearing the name of Christian is in itself a crime; but, on the other hand, any one who is accused of that crime is to be pardoned if he consents to renounce the name. This method of procedure undoubtedly succeeded in quelling the disturbances which arose between the Christians and their enemies; and it continued to be the law throughout the second century.[3]

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[1] C. Plinius Secundus, *Epist. ad Traian.*, 96 (al. 97).

[2] C. Plin. Secund., *Epist. ad Traian.*, 97 (al. 98).

[3] In Justin., *Apol.* 1, c. 68, we find a rescript directed by the Emperor Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus, the proconsul of Asia Minor, which reads as follows: "I have received the letter addressed to me by your predecessor, Serenius Granianus, a most illustrious man; and this communication I am unwilling to pass over in silence, lest innocent persons be disturbed, and occasion be given to the informers for practising villany. Accordingly, if the inhabitants of your province will so far sustain this petition of theirs as to accuse the Christians in some court of law, I do not prohibit them from doing so. But I will not suffer them to make use of mere entreaties and outcries; for it is far more just, if any one desires to

The first outbreak which Marcus Aurelius had to repress occurred in the year 166. On this occasion the Church lost

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make an accusation, that you give judgment upon it. If, therefore, any one makes the accusation, and furnishes proof that the said men do anything contrary to the laws, you shall adjudge punishments in proportion to the offences. And this, by Hercules, you shall give special heed to, that if any man shall, through mere calumny, bring an accusation against any of these persons, you shall award to him more severe punishments in proportion to his wickedness." This rescript was referred to by Melito, in the *Apology* which he presented to Marcus Aurelius, in 170. See Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 4, c. 26. There has, nevertheless, been much discussion as to its authenticity. Neander, *Christ. relig. and Church*, v. 1, pp. 101–3, regards it as genuine; while Baur, *Church hist.*, v. 2, pp. 203–4, takes the contrary view. The most complete discussions of the question are given in Th. Keim's article in the *Theol. Jahrb.*, Tübingen, 1856. v. 15, p. 387; and in Aubé's *Hist. des perséc. de l'Église jusqu'à la fin des Antonins*, pp. 261–73; both of these writers regard the rescript as spurious. At all events, this rescript was never intended to repeal the law as laid down by Trajan; nor did it have that effect. Its purpose was merely to prevent the vague and calumnious informations against Christians which Trajan's rescript, although it had prohibited anonymous informations, had not forbidden in sufficiently definite terms.

Appended to the second *Apology* of Justin is another rescript, purporting to be directed by Antoninus Pius *ad commune Asiae*, which reads as follows: "I was of opinion that the gods would take care that such people (the Christians) should not remain hidden, for they would punish much more, if they could, those who will not worship them. You torment them and accuse them as if they were atheists in their way of thinking, and you reproach them with other things which we cannot prove. It can only be advantageous to them if they are seen to die for that which is laid to their charge; when they prefer giving up their bodies to doing what you require of them, they conquer us. It is unkind to remind you of the earthquakes which have happened and still happen. Compared with the Christians, you lose your courage in such circumstances; they have far more confidence in God than you. At such a time you appear to know nothing of the gods, you neglect the sacrifices, you do not know how to worship God, and therefore you are envious of those who worship him, and persecute them to death. Concerning these people, some other governors of provinces wrote to my divine father, and he replied to them that they should leave these people in peace if they do not attempt anything against the dominion of the Romans. And many have sent reports about them to me, and I also answered in accordance with my father's opinion. If any one has a complaint to bring against any of these peo-

a leader who has always been distinguished as *the* Martyr; and it is worth while to note that this calamity was brought about by the combined hostility of the philosophers and the people. Shortly after the accession of Marcus Aurelius, Justin had laid his second *Apology* before the throne. Of its effect on the Emperor we can know nothing. Indeed, it is by no means certain that it ever reached his eyes. But among the Pagan scholars of the time it worked much mischief. We have already spoken of Crescentius, a Cynic philosopher in Rome. It appears that he had often contended against his rival, Justin, who continued to wear the philosopher's cloak and carry on his lectures even after he was won over to the Christian faith. If we are to believe Eusebius,[1] Justin had frequently refuted his opponent in discussion, in the presence of many hearers. And the success of Justin's *Apology* so roused the Pagan's anger that he plotted the death of his opponent.[2] There was but little difficulty in carrying out his plan. The rescript of Trajan, commanding that Christians who would not renounce their faith should be put to death, had never been repealed, and had, in fact, been followed more than once during the pacific reign of Antoninus Pius; so that all Crescentius needed was the sympathy of the people, and on this point he felt no anxiety.

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ple as such (as a Christian), the accused person is to be discharged even if it is shown that he is what is said; but the accuser is to be punished." This rescript is also given by Eusebius, in his *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 4, c. 13, who says he takes it from Justin; but, as given by Eusebius, it purports to be a rescript of Marcus Aurelius. Eusebius seems to have confused it with the document by which it is immediately followed in Justin's works. This is the spurious letter of Marcus Aurelius with regard to the "miraculous victory," which we have already considered. The two documents undoubtedly belong in the same category; both of them are almost universally acknowledged to be forgeries. If any further proof were needed of the spuriousness of the rescript of Antoninus Pius than is to be found in its own language, it may be well to consult Is. Haffner, *De edicto Antonini Pii pro Christianis ad commune Asiae.* Argentor., 1781. 4°; and Eichstädt, *Exercitio Antoniniana V.*, in the *Annales acad. Ien.*, v. 1, p. 286.

[1] Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 4, c. 16.

[2] Iustin., *Apol.* 2, c. 3; Tatian., *Orat. aduers. Graec.*, c. 19; and Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 4, c. 16.

Never had there been a more favorable opportunity for carrying out his diabolical purpose. The recent overflow of the Tiber and the famine which attended it had diminished the population and reduced the finances of the Empire. The army had just returned from the campaign in the East, victorious, it is true, but bringing with them the pestilence, as a visitation from the gods. The Germans were pouring down upon the northern frontier; and another war was imminent, although it seemed impossible to raise a sufficient army to defend the Empire. Before long the idea spread abroad among the people that the disasters which had come upon them were a punishment for their past negligence in the worship of the gods; they had allowed the calumniators of the national deities too much freedom. All at once a raid was made upon the school of Justin, where the pernicious doctrines were every day proclaimed. He was brought, with half a dozen of his followers, before the Stoic Rusticus, who, during this year, 166, was prefect of the city. This was no time either for Rusticus or for the Emperor to act in opposition to the people's will. It was necessary, above all else, under the present circumstances, that the Emperor should win the favor of his subjects — the very existence of the Empire demanded it. To refuse now to enforce the rescript issued by Trajan and followed by his successors would have been sheer madness, even if such had been the Emperor's desire. The investigation was, therefore, carried on in accordance with the precedent already established. One after another the accused were interrogated and condemned. Justin, Chariton, Charitus, Euelpistus, Hierax, Pæo, and Liberanus were sent out to be scourged and put to death. In this summary method was conducted the first great persecution which the Church was called upon to undergo.[1]

[1] The account of this persecution is given in full in the document known as the *Martyrium sanctorum Iustini, Charitonis, Charitus, Paeonis, et Liberani*, edited by A. Galland, in his *Bib. uet. patr. antiq.*, v. 1, pp. 707–28. See also Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 4, c. 16; and Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, lib. 12, c. 3. The date is fixed to the year 166 by the fact that Rusticus was prefect of the city. See Semisch, on the year of Justin Martyr's death, in the *Theol. Stud. und Krit.* Hamburg, 1835. v. 4, p. 907.

The victory thus won by the philosophers and people of Rome soon made its influence felt throughout the provinces. In the same year, 166, a conflict occurred between the Church at Smyrna and her enemies. This city, the home of one of the seven churches mentioned in the Apocalypse, had from the first been looked upon by the Christians as an important stronghold; and the administration of the affairs of the Church at Smyrna was at this time in the hands of a man who has always been regarded as one of the foremost heroes of Christianity. Polycarp, though now eighty-six years of age, was in full possession of his bodily and mental vigor. He was a man of an extremely benevolent and gentle disposition; but whenever the interest of his religion was at stake, no one displayed greater fortitude or firmness. It was doubtless this characteristic of his nature that gave rise to the outbreak. Polycarp seems to have had transactions, in the course of his duties, with the congregation of Christians at Philadelphia. The episcopal influence was just at this time growing very strong; and it is not unlikely that the people's indignation was aroused by observing how great power this bishop in Smyrna was acquiring over the Church at Philadelphia. So Polycarp was summoned, with twelve Christians from Philadelphia, to appear before the proconsul of the province, and answer the charges made against them. Among those first seized was a young man named Germanicus, whose bravery touched the hearts even of his enemies. The proconsul seems to have been reluctant to punish the culprits at all, and he endeavored to get rid of the duty which Trajan's rescript had imposed upon him, by urging the young man to renounce his faith. It was all to no purpose, however, and Germanicus was delivered over to the lions. And then the cry arose, "Let Polycarp be sought." Before the officers could find him, a Phrygian named Quintus presented himself before the tribunal, and declared in a boastful way that he was a Christian. As soon, however, as he was brought to the arena, and looked down upon the lions all ready to tear him to pieces, his courage failed him, and he consented to sacrifice to the gods of Rome. Such conduct the Church condemns,

and our account of the martyrdom adds, "We therefore praise not those who voluntarily surrender themselves; for so we are not taught in the gospel." The course pursued by Polycarp was very different. As soon as he heard that he was in danger from the populace, he withdrew quietly outside the city; and when search was made for him he removed to another villa. But at last, seeing that all further flight was useless, he sat down calmly in his room and awaited the coming of his enemies. He was there apprehended, and brought before the proconsul, who urged him to renounce his faith and join the Heathen, who were crying all about him, "Away with the godless." Polycarp looked quietly at the crowd, and, pointing his finger at them, raised his eyes to heaven and said, "Away with the godless." As the proconsul, however, continued to urge him, saying, "Swear, and I will dismiss you. Revile Christ;" Polycarp replied, "Eighty and six years have I served him, and he never did me wrong; and how can I now blaspheme my King that has saved me?" There was, therefore, but one course open to the proconsul. Polycarp was condemned to be burned to death. He was then carried to the stake; and the last words he was heard to utter were a thanksgiving to Almighty God. The account then goes on to speak of some few other martyrs who suffered death in Asia Minor about this same time in consequence of their faith.[1]

After these events of the year 166 there was a considerable period during which the Church enjoyed comparative peace. It was not until 177 that the disturbances broke out again; and this time it was in an altogether different part of the Empire. We begin now for the first time to hear of the propagation of Christianity in Gaul. The pioneer in this province was Pothinus, a disciple of Polycarp, who had come with his master to Rome in 158, and had thence been sent into Gaul

[1] The document from which this account of the persecution is taken is the *Ecclesiae Smyrnensis de martyrio S. Polycarpi epistola circularis*, edited by J. B. Cotelier, in his *Patr. qui temp. apost. flor. oper.*, v. 2, pp. 193–202. This document was the basis of the account as given in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 4, c. 15. See also Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, lib. 12, c. 3. On the date, 166, see Clinton, *Fasti Roman.*, ad an. 166.

to preach the gospel to the people. Irenæus, also a native of the East, appears to have accompanied Pothinus from the very first; at all events, he was with him not long after. The noteworthy fact in this matter is that the Gallic Churches were all founded by Christians from the East; and we can well understand how the extravagant teachings of the Montanists, who were at this time very prominent in the East, became disseminated among the Churches in this western province. The prevalence of heretical doctrines among these people is attested by the celebrated work which Irenæus, afterwards their bishop, wrote against the heretics; and it was the fanaticism of the Montanists that gave rise, in 177, to the attack upon the Churches of Lugdunum and Vienna.[1] The two persecutions of this reign which we have already considered seem to have had, at any rate, some show of legality about them; but this is more than can be said of the disturbances in Gaul. The origin of the outbreak was a riot. For some reason which our account neglects to state—but which it is not difficult to guess — the populace of these two cities rose almost simultaneously against the Christians; and before long their fury grew so intense that they attacked the hated worshippers with stones, and drove them out of all the public places. From this it would appear that the Christians were holding some meeting in public, as was not unusual with the fanatic Montanists, who were taught to seek for martyrdom. At any rate, the Christians were before long compelled to remain in their own houses, and, if they appeared in the streets at all it was at the risk of being stoned to death. So violent and so frequent were the commotions raised in this way, that the authorities found it necessary to interfere; and, as the simplest method of restoring the public

[1] That such was the cause of the disturbance appears almost certain from Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 5, c. 3 and 4, where we read that the Christians who were arrested for this tumult dissented from each other so greatly with reference to the Montanistic doctrines that they wrote an epistle to Eleutherus, the bishop of Rome, asking him to render his judgment concerning the dispute, and Irenæus was selected to convey the message.

peace, all the suspected parties were arrested, and, after a slight examination, were placed in jail to await the return of the imperial legate, who was then absent. When he appeared, the persons arrested were put to trial. But in carrying on his investigation the legate went much further than was sanctioned by the rescripts of the emperors. He was not content with condemning those who refused to renounce their faith; if they were suspected, he continued an investigation of the charges made against them, even though they offered to sacrifice to the gods of Rome. And to such a point of illegality did he carry his measures that he summoned slaves to testify against their masters, although this was forbidden by the laws.[1] The condemned were put to death with every sort of cruelty. Pothinus, the bishop, a man ninety years of age, was thrown into prison, only to die two days later of the kicks and buffets he had received from the angry mob. Blandina, a young slave, who remained firm throughout all the tortures to which she was exposed, at last was tied up in a bag and thrown into the arena to be gored to death by an infuriated bull. After a time, however, the passions of the crowd seem to have been temporarily appeased. The authorities were confronted by some question as to the legality of their proceedings. A messenger was despatched to Rome to ask the Emperor how it was best to act, and the Christians already arrested were remanded to prison to remain until the magistrates should be acquainted with the Emperor's desire. Marcus had just returned for a few months from the Marcomannic war, and it may be that the authorities in Gaul had taken the matter at first entirely into their own hands because the Emperor was not then in Rome. But now, as soon as he received the letter from his legate, he despatched a reply which was merely confirmatory of Trajan's rescript — that all who confessed that they were Christians should be beheaded, and that all who

[1] See Cicero, *Pro Deiot.*, c. 1; *Pro Rosc. Amer.*, c. 41; *Pro Milon.*, c. 22; and Tacitus, *Annal.*, lib. 2, c. 30. But it should be remarked that it was deemed lawful to interrogate slaves in cases of atrocious crimes, or where no other evidence was to be obtained. See Iustinian., *Dig.*, lib. 48, tit. 18, c. 8.

denied should be set at liberty. This letter had the effect of mitigating the cruelty. Those only were now condemned who were unwilling to recant. All the others who had been imprisoned were set free. And thus ended the last and bitterest of the persecutions which occurred in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.[1]

[1] The account of this persecution is found in the letter which the Churches of Lugdunum and Vienna wrote to those in Asia, describing the indignities which they had suffered. We owe its preservation to Eusebius, who gives it almost in full in his *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 5, c. 1, 2, and 3. The date is fixed at 177 by Eusebius, in his *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 5, proem.: Ἔτος ἦν ἑπτακαιδέκατον αὐτοκράτορος Μάρκου Οὐήρου; and is confirmed by Eusebius, in his *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 5, c. 3 and 4, where we read that Eleutherus was at that time bishop of Rome.

In the document which has come down to us under the name of the *Passio S. Felicitatis et septem filiorum eius*, we have the detailed account of another martyrdom which has been regarded by most Christian writers as having taken place in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. According to this account, Felicitas, in the time of the Emperor Antoninus, made herself so objectionable to the authorities at Rome by her Christian observances that they brought the case before the Emperor, and he commanded Publius, prefect of the city, to compel her and her sons to perform a sacrifice to the gods in order to appease their wrath. Then follows a minute description of the conversation between Publius and the family of Felicitas, in which Publius refers, now to the command of the Emperor Antoninus, and now to the ordinances of the Augusti. In consequence of the refusal of Felicitas and her sons to sacrifice they were all put to death. The entire account, though somewhat highly colored, is, in the main, straightforward; and is nearly as well authenticated as any story in the martyrology, being fully attested, towards the close of the sixth century, by Gregory the Great, in his third *Homily*. Several inscriptions have also been found bearing the name of Felicitas. See Boldetti, *Cimit.*, p. 421; and G. B. de Rossi's article in the *Bullet. di arch. crist.*, June, 1863. The names of Januarius and Martialis, who are spoken of in the account as two of the sons of Felicitas, seem also to appear in inscriptions. See De Rossi's article in the *Bullet. di arch. crist.*, March, 1863. In short, there is no reason to question the authenticity of the story. But, at the same time, it is impossible to affirm with any certainty that the martyrdom took place in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The joint rule of the Augusti, together with the fact that only one of them, Antoninus, is apparently present at the time, has been thought sufficient to fix this event to the period when Marcus was on the throne at

In studying these persecutions, we are everywhere impressed by the large number of the victims. We are distinctly told

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Rome, and his brother Lucius was engaged in fighting the barbarians in the East. Moreover, attempts have been made to connect this Publius with Publius Salvius Julianus, who was, at one time, *curator aedium sacrarum locorumque publicorum*. Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 4, pp. 153 and 156. But the name Antoninus, which appears in the account, applies quite as well to Septimius Severus as to Marcus Aurelius; and both were associated with colleagues in the empire. As regards the prefect of the city, we are as ignorant of one named Publius under Septimius Severus as under Marcus Aurelius; but during the reign of Severus there is a period of five years, from 198 to 202, in which the names of the prefects are entirely unknown; and it is by no means improbable that in one of these years the office was exercised by a man named Publius. The most exhaustive article on this subject is that of Aubé, in Paris. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. *Comptes-rendues des séances de l'académie.* Paris, 1875.

There is preserved in Ruinart, *Acta prim. martyr.*, p. 126, the record of another martyrdom, that of Symphorian, which Neander, *Christ. relig. and Church*, v. 1, pp. 114–5, places in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The account begins with the words: *Sub Aureliano principe;* and a little farther down we read: *Aurelius imperator omnibus administratoribus suis atque rectoribus.* The confusion in the name of the emperor under whom the martyrdom is said to have occurred is sufficient in itself to throw doubt upon the genuineness of the document. At any rate, there is no reason for supposing that Marcus is intended to be designated either by the name Aurelian or by Aurelius. There were in all eight emperors who bore the name Aurelius, but Marcus is never spoken of by contemporary writers under that appellation.

The martyrdom of Sagaris, bishop of Laodicea, in Phrygia, who is said by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 4, c. 26, to have been put to death while Servilius Paulus was proconsul of Asia, has also been assigned by some scholars to this reign. It is impossible, however, to determine the question; for we have no other reference to a proconsul of Asia named Servilius Paulus.

Among the numerous other martyrs whose names find a place in the calendar of the Romish Church, a large number have been assigned to the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The accounts preserved of these martyrdoms are some of them not quite so incredible as others; but, at best, they cannot be said to fall within the realm of history. Those who are curious about such matters will find the most interesting of these stories collected in Thierri Ruinart, *Acta primorum martyrum sincera et selecta.* Paris, 1689. 4°.

that six Christians were put to death along with Justin, that Polycarp was martyred with twelve of his faithful people, and that the fanaticism in Gaul brought about the death of no less than forty-seven. To these must be added a large number who, as Eusebius tells us, suffered shortly after the persecution at Smyrna, and also, undoubtedly, a great many the exact date of whose martyrdom is unknown. The whole number of Christians martyred in the reign of Marcus Aurelius cannot have fallen far short of one hundred — more than had suffered in any previous reign. At first sight, therefore, it would seem that Marcus must be regarded as a more cruel persecutor than any of his predecessors; and the charge has been made hastily that he was inspired by a personal hatred for the Christians. This accusation has been supported by arguments tending to show that he entertained a great admiration for the Jews. If the fact were true it would be a point well taken, for it is beyond question that there existed a bitter hostility between the Jews and Christians.[1] But it is impossible to prove that Marcus was in any way partial to the Jews.[2] Indeed, we are informed that when the Emperor

[1] In Iustin., *Dialog. cum Tryph.*, c. 10, Trypho, the Jew, is represented as upbraiding the Christians because they do not observe the festivals and sabbaths, and do not practise the rite of circumcision; and in Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 4, c. 15, we read that the Jews joined eagerly in compassing the death of Polycarp.

[2] Quite recently a learned Jew, Dr. Bodek, has published a work in which he maintains, with a good deal of ingenuity, that Marcus Aurelius lived on terms of the closest intimacy with a powerful opponent of Christianity—the Jewish Rabbi Je-hudah Hakka-dosh, sometimes called Jehudah ha-Nasi. There are found in the works of the early Jewish writers a number of references to Antoninus, the son of Asuerus, emperor of Rome, and friend of Je-hudah Hakka-dosh. The passages which I have been able to discover are these: In *b. Meilah*, 17, we read that at the time of Je-hudah's birth circumcision was forbidden, but Je-hudah's father circumcised him, and so the whole family were sent to Rome for punishment. But a noble woman there, the mother of the future emperor, took compassion on them, and nourished the little child from her own breast; and ever afterwards Je-hudah and the Emperor were warm friends. In *Midr. Rabba*, i., 75, we read of a correspondence that was carried on between Antoninus and Je-hudah. In *Midr. Rabba*, i., 67, we

came to Palestine, in the course of his journey through the East, he expressed himself in terms of the strongest disappro-

find the Emperor sending a messenger to the Rabbi to ask how he could improve the financial status of the Empire. In *Midr. Tanchuma Parascha*, the Rabbi instructs the Emperor why God should be approached only at certain hours of the day. In *b. Sanhedrin*, 91 a and b, and in *Midr. Rabba*, i., 34, and iii., 4, the Rabbi and his imperial friend hold a discussion upon the nature of the soul. *b. Abodah zara*, 10 a, informs us that Antoninus took so deep an interest in the Jewish people that he designed to raise Tiberias, as the seat of an educational institution, to the rank of a Roman colony.

Now the question arises, which of the eight emperors that bore the name of Antoninus was contemporary with Je-hudah. Some writers, for example, Morinus, have placed Je-hudah as late as the fifth century; but it seems to be the better opinion that he was born in 120 and died about 190. This being so, the only emperors with whom he was contemporary are Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus; and of these, the only one about the same age with Je-hudah was Marcus Aurelius. It seems probable, therefore, that Marcus Aurelius was the emperor referred to so often by the Jewish historians as Antoninus.

How much reliance, then, are we to place in these references to Marcus Aurelius? Clearly, but very little. The silence of the Roman historians with regard to this intimacy of Marcus with the celebrated compiler of the *Mishna* would alone be a conclusive proof that no such intimacy existed. But, more than that, these Jewish stories themselves supply a refutation of the statements they endeavor to support; for they are full of errors, which could not possibly have crept in had the intercourse between Marcus Aurelius and Je-hudah been so intimate as it is said in the *Talmud* to have been. For example, Antoninus is usually designated as Antoninus son of Asuerus (אנטונינוס בן אסיירוס), whereas we know that Marcus Aurelius's father was named Annius Verus. And, indeed, the *Talmud* is, in one passage, *b. Niddah*, 45 a, so far wrong as to call the Emperor Asuerus son of Antoninus (אסו בן אנט). Again, in *b. Abodah zara*, 10 a, Antoninus talks of nominating his son Asuerus as his successor; but we have already seen that the Emperor had but three sons, Commodus and Antoninus, who were twins, and the younger brother, Annius Verus. Asuerus may mean here Annius Verus, the son of Marcus, just as it seems to be used in other places to designate Annius Verus, Marcus's father; but it is clear that an intimate friend of the Emperor could not make such an error in the name. In *b. Niddah*, 45 a, the wife of Marcus is called, not Faustina, but Iustina (יוסטינא); and in *b. Abodah zara*, 10 b, we read that Antoninus has a daughter Gera (גירא), whereas we know that his only daughters were Lucilla, Fadilla, Cornificia, and Vibia Aure-

bation with regard to the character of these people.[1] The charge of a personal hatred against the Christians has also been supported by a reference to his *Thoughts*, where he says, "What a soul that is which is ready, if at any moment it must be separated from the body, and ready either to be extinguished, or dispersed, or continue to exist; but so that this readiness comes from a man's own judgment, not from mere obstinacy, as with the Christians, but considerately and with dignity, and in a way to persuade another, without tragic show."[2] But, manifestly, this remark proves little. What

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lia Sabina. Such a mass of errors would make us almost certain that Marcus Aurelius was not the Antoninus here referred to, were it not for the fact that he was the only Roman emperor of about the same age as Je-hudah. So we may, perhaps, presume that he was the emperor referred to, and that he did have some slight acquaintance with the Rabbi, all the details with regard to their intercourse being added by later Jewish writers. And this theory will appear all the more probable when we recollect that in the *Mishna* itself, which was compiled by the Rabbi Jehudah, the alleged friend of the Emperor, about 180, there is not a single reference to Antoninus. The references to him are all in the *Gemara*, that is, the commentaries made afterwards upon the *Mishna*, and in the *Midrashim*, some of which were compiled as late as the twelfth century. These commentators were very fond of adding weight to the teachings of the rabbis by connecting them with important personages. For instance, in *b. Sanhedrin*, 39 a, an emperor is made to hold a long conversation with the Rabbi Tanchum; in *j. Schebiith*, lib. 6, c. 1, one of the Antonines grants a large piece of land to the Rabbi Yona; in *b. Bava Bathra*, 10 a, a certain Turnus Rufus and the Emperor hold a colloquy with the Rabbi Akiva; and in *b. Sanhedrin*, 65 b, and again in *b. Bereshith Rabba*, 4, the same Turnus Rufus has dealings with another rabbi. Those who care to investigate further the relation of Marcus Aurelius to the Rabbi Je-hudah will do well to consult the literature referred to in Julius Fürst's *Bibliotheca Judaica*. Lips., 1849–63. 3 v. 8°. v. 2, pp. 48–9; and, in addition, Arnold Bodek's *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus als Zeitgenosse und Freund des Rabbi Jehuda ha-Nasi*. Leips., 1868. 8°; and E. H. Plumptre's article in the *Contemporary review*. Lond., 1869. 8°. v. 10, pp. 81–95.

[1] Ammian. Marcellin., *Rer. gest.*, lib. 22, c. 5, § 5: *Ille enim cum Palaestinam transiret, Aegyptum petens, factentium Iudaeorum et tumultuantium saepe taedio percitus, dolenter dicitur exclamasse: O! Marcomanni, O! Quadi, O! Sarmatae, tandem alios vobis inertiores inueni.*

[2] *Thoughts*, lib. 11, c. 3.

the Emperor objects to is the tragic show which the Christians made about dying; and in this he is upheld by Galen, who more than once laughs at the obstinacy with which they cling to their traditions.[1] The Emperor's complaint was undoubtedly, in many instances, well founded, as we have already noticed in the case of the Montanists; and it is clearly impossible to draw conclusions as to his personal feelings toward the Christians from this single philosophical remark. We have only to consider the universal charity which pervades his laws and his *Thoughts* in order to convince ourselves that such a soul could entertain no personal hostility towards any man, much less towards the most down-trodden class of his entire people.

But it is useless to argue on grounds of probability when we have the facts before us. What, now, did the Emperor do to render more unfortunate the condition of the Church? Of the three persecutions that took place in his reign we have already seen that the first, in which Justin suffered martyrdom, occurred under an extraordinary pressure of circumstances, that it was instigated by a mob which it would have been madness to oppose, and that the investigation was carried on, not before the Emperor himself, but before the prefect of the city. As to the martyrdom of Polycarp, no one has ever pretended that Marcus had anything to do with it. The sedition had done its work and been quieted by the proconsul of Asia long before the news of the difficulty could be brought to Rome. Finally, the disturbance at Lugdunum and Vienna was due apparently quite as much to the fanaticism of the Christians as to the rage of their opponents. The Emperor was entirely unacquainted with the proceedings until they were nearly over; and as soon as he heard of what the authorities had done he despatched his messenger with the

[1] Galen., *De puls. different.*, lib. 2, c. 4 [v. 8, p. 579 of Kühn's ed.]: Κάλλιον δ' ἂν ἦν πολλῷ προσθεῖναί τινα, εἰ καὶ μὴ βεβαίαν ἀπόδειξιν, παραμυθίαν γ' οὖν ἱκανὴν τῷ λόγῳ περὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ ποιοτήτων, ἵνα μή τις εὐθὺς κατ' ἀρχὰς, ὡς εἰς Μωϋσοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διατριβὴν ἀφιγμένος, νόμων ἀναποδείκτων ἀκούῃ; and lib. 3, c. 3 [v. 8, p. 657]: Θᾶττον γὰρ ἄν τις τοὺς ἀπὸ Μωϋσοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ μεταδιδάξειεν ἢ τοὺς αἱρέσεσι προστετηκότας ἰατρούς τε καὶ φιλοσόφους.

command to restrict the punishments to the extent permitted by Trajan's rescript. Thus we see that his endeavor was always to mitigate the sufferings of the Christians rather than to augment them. In the *Apology* of Melito there is, indeed, a remark which might at first thought seem to show that Marcus introduced new measures to put down Christianity. We read there, "What has never before happened, the race of the pious is now persecuted by new edicts. The shameless informers, greedy of the property of others, plunder, as they find in the edicts the occasion to do so, the innocent by day and night."[1] The complaint of Melito is in substance this: that whereas Trajan's rescript did not authorize the officials to make a search for Christians, but only to punish those who were brought before them, the new edicts invited informations, by employing the class of people known as informers. Now, we have already observed, in our sketch of the laws of Marcus, that he abolished entirely the *quadruplatores*, or informers. Hence, if such methods were employed in Asia during the time of Melito, it must have been before the new regulations were put into practice; and it is not impossible that the Emperor was actually influenced in his endeavors to abolish the *quadruplatores*, by a consideration of this injustice which Melito informed him they worked among the Christians. As to the "new edicts" of which Melito speaks, they were obviously the edicts proclaimed independently by the proconsul of the province; for the practice of Marcus, as we have seen in his reply to the authorities in Gaul, was to conform strictly to the edicts of his predecessors. Indeed, in every way in his power, consistently with the practice already established, Marcus endeavored to protect the Christians; and it is even said that he had some of them among his household servants.[2] But the strongest proof of the leniency of Marcus Aurelius towards Christianity is found in the esteem in which he was always held by the Christians of his own and later times—for example, by the composers of the *Sibylline oracles*,

[1] Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 4, c. 26.

[2] G. B. de Rossi, *Insc. Christ. urbis Romae.* Romae, 1857–61. 4°. v. 1, p. 9.

one of whom says: "After Antoninus Pius there shall rule a man renowned for wisdom."[1] So also the Christian theologian Zonaras says of him that "he was by nature good, but by education far better still."[2]

It only remains to answer a single further objection. Granted that Marcus sought to do no more than to enforce the laws of his predecessors with regard to Christianity, why did he not go further and repeal them? The answer is twofold: it is based not only upon the peculiar attitude in which Christianity stood to Rome, but also upon the very nature of Christianity itself. We shall conclude our investigations by a brief examination of these two points. In the first place, then, Marcus did not repeal the laws of his predecessors because he felt them to be necessary to the stability of the Empire. From the very first the Romans were wise enough to see that Christianity stood in direct opposition to the supremacy of Rome. Either Christianity or the Empire must give way; they could not both exist together. This fact was recognized by all the early emperors; and it was on that account that they felt justified in punishing those who confessed that they were Christians, without deeming it necessary to set forth any specific charges—a method of treatment against which the Christian apologists are never tired of protesting.[3] It must be distinctly borne in mind that, in the struggle between Rome and Christianity, Rome was rather the champion of tolerance than of intolerance. She would probably have been willing to incorporate Christ among the gods of Rome, but the spirit of Christianity rebelled against the idea of having its God associated with any other. It demanded nothing less than the abolition of the old Roman worship and religion. It is not strange, therefore, that an emperor whose devotion to the gods of Rome was so sincere as that of Marcus should resist the

[1] *Orac. Sibyl.*, lib. 12, ver. 187: Τὸν μέτα γ' ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἄρξει, σοφὰ πολλά τε εἰδώς.

[2] Zonaras, *Epit. hist.*, lib. 12, c. 3: Ἦν γὰρ καὶ φύσει ἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ, πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ παιδείας βελτίων ἐγένετο. See also Tertullian., *Apologet.*, c. 5.

[3] Iustin., *Apol.* 1, c. 4 and 7; and Athenag., *Supplicat. pro Christ.*, c. 2.

encroachments of the new faith.[1] Moreover, the difference in religious views drew after it some very important political consequences. There can be no question that the Christians were bad citizens. It was said, and undoubtedly was in many cases true, that they refused to serve in the imperial armies.[2] Besides this, it was, of course, impossible for the followers of Jesus to dignify by the title of *Diuus* those emperors who at their deaths had been enrolled among the gods of Rome; and for a similar reason they were excluded from taking part in a great many other demonstrations by which the citizens proved their allegiance to the Empire. When we consider how close was the connection between the Roman worship and the state, and when we remember that nearly every event of importance, such as a victory or an elevation to the throne, was celebrated by a sacrifice in which the Christians could take no part, we shall easily understand how they came to be looked upon as enemies to the Empire itself. But in nothing did the opposition of the Christians make itself so manifest as in their aristocratic notions with reference to the Church—an attitude which began to be very prominent among the Roman Christians of Marcus's reign. The term ἐκκλησία (i. e., the called, the elect) had already appeared many years before;[3] and it was very generally maintained that through the Church alone man could be saved.[4] As a natural consequence of this belief, the Church soon set herself up as a separate power in the state; and, since she was represented by her bishops, the emperors very soon saw in them the enemies of the imperial prerogative. The authority of the bishops was emphasized

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[1] Many passages might be quoted to prove the devotion of Marcus to the gods; among them is Dion Cassius, lib. 71, c. 34: *Ὅστις εἶχε μὲν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἁπάσας, καὶ οὕτω θεοσεβὴς ἦν ὥστε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀποφράσιν οἴκοι θύειν, καὶ ἄριστα δὴ ἁπάντων τῶν ἐν κράτει τινὶ γενομένων ἤρξεν.*

[2] Tertullian., *De idol.*, c. 19; *De coron.*, c. 11; *De fuga in persec.*, c. 14; Origen., *Contr. Cels.*, lib. 8, c. 73; and Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 8, c. 4.

[3] Ignatius, *Epist. ad Smyrn.*, c. 8. See also Iren., *Contr. haer.*, lib. 3, c. 4, § 1, lib. 3, c. 24, § 1, and lib. 4, c. 31, § 3; Clemens *Alexandrinus*, *Paed.*, lib. 1, c. 6; and *Strom.*, lib. 7, c. 5.

[4] Origen., *In lib. Iesu Naue homil.* 3, c. 5.

so early as the times of Ignatius (that is, if the epistles attributed to him are genuine);[1] and it was generally acknowledged by the time of Irenæus.[2] Further, since Rome was the capital of the Empire, and the city where the Church was "founded and organized by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul," the bishop of Rome was regarded by Irenæus as deserving an especial reverence.[3] This was an encroachment to which the emperors objected. It threatened trouble, to have two rulers in a single empire. So that, in the struggle between Christianity and the people, the emperors were almost necessarily allied with the people's cause. They were compelled to see in the new religion an enemy, not only to the public peace, but also to the Roman Empire.

The second reason why Marcus Aurelius did not deem it wise to depart from the policy of his predecessors was because he had no sympathy with Christianity itself. From what we have already seen, it must be clear that the Christianity of the second century was a peculiar mixture. It numbered among its followers men of the most diverse characters, and its theology was represented by every conceivable shade of thought. Each sect regarded itself as constituting the true Church, and accused all others of heresy. Nor was it possible to determine among the rival claims which had the better right to the name of Christian. For there had been, as yet, no universal synod; and though the bishop and presbyters of a single Church might exclude any one whom they pleased from their communion, such an act was in no way binding on the other Churches. Some men, therefore, were regarded as heretics by some of the Churches, and not by others. In Alexandria men were allowed more room for speculation than in Rome, and consequently there were fewer heretics. Saturninus and Basilides do not appear to have been excluded from the Church at all. Nor were Valentinus, Cerdo, and Marcion until they came to Rome. And many men, who were regard-

[1] Ignat., *Epist. ad Smyrn.*, c. 8; *Ad Polyc.*, c. 6; *Ad Ephes.*, c. 4; *Ad Magn.*, c. 6; *Ad Philad.*, c. 7; and *Ad Trall.*, c. 2.

[2] Iren., *Contr. haer.*, lib. 3, c. 14, § 2, lib. 4, c. 26, §§ 2–5, and lib. 5, c. 20, § 1.

[3] Iren., *Contr. haer.*, lib. 3, c. 3, § 2.

ed as heretics by certain Churches, occupied the very highest positions in others. The difficulty of deciding what was heresy is shown by the fact that Celsus, who had studied Christianity, confused some heretical doctrines with the Christian teaching.[1] But a thing which made matters worse than all was that many of the Christians based their teaching upon documents of their own, which the rest of the Church denounced as spurious; and, since the canon was not yet settled, there was no definite means by which an outsider could distinguish the true Christians from the false.[2] So that in the Heathen world the impression prevailed that Christianity possessed no truths about which there was any certainty. Celsus observes that the Christians are "split up into ever so many factions, each individual desiring to have his own party;"[3] and, so far as he can make out, they have nothing in common except their rebellion against the sovereign and their fear of external enemies.[4] Celsus might, however, have added another trait which all these sects possessed in common—each had had its origin in the East, and each preserved, in a greater or less degree, the superstitious ideas which had been impressed upon it at its birth. This was an unfortunate characteristic for Christianity to possess. A superstition seldom meets much opposition among a rationalistic people; but

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[1] Origen., *Contr. Cels.*, lib. 3, c. 12.

[2] The four *Gospels* which we now possess had undoubtedly, at this time, come to be considered by the majority of Christians as far superior to all others. Iren., *Contr. haer.*, lib. 3, c. 11, §§ 7 and 8. See also Tertullian., *Aduers. Marc.*, lib. 4, c. 2 and 5; Origen., *Comment. in Ioan.*, v. 1; and Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 6, c. 13. But there were many others in circulation; and even these four had not gained the importance which age has now attached to them; for oral testimony was frequently, at this time, brought forward and relied upon. Of the numerous *Gospels* repudiated by our canon the most important were the *Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus; the Gospel of Thomas the Israelite; the Protevangelion of James; the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary; the Gospel of Nicodemus, or the Acts of Pilate; the Gospel of Marcion; the Gospel of the Hebrews* (probably the same as the *Gospel of the Nazarenes*); and the *Gospel of the Egyptians.*

[3] Origen., *Contr. Cels.*, lib. 3, c. 12.

[4] Origen., *Contr. Cels.*, lib. 3, c. 14.

when it comes in conflict with other superstitions, there is certain to be trouble. The Romans of the second century were unquestionably superstitious. Of this it would be easy to give a hundred proofs; but I shall only cite a few. One of the most popular writers of the time, Appuleius, is said by Lactantius to have been looked upon by the people as possessing extraordinary powers of magic;[1] and Appuleius was actually called into court to defend himself against a charge of enticing away a woman by his magic spells.[2] The supernatural meaning of dreams was universally acknowledged;[3] and Artemidorus, an eminent writer of the time, is known to us exclusively by his work on their interpretation. On one occasion an impostor took his seat among the branches of a tree, and created a great excitement by proclaiming that the city was about to be struck by lightning, and that the world was near its end.[4] It was in the reign of Marcus, too, that that consummate scoundrel, Alexander of Abonoteichus, travelled all the way from Pontus to Rome, practising his magic arts, and enriching himself by the credulity of the people.[5] Even the Emperor was not free from the general superstition. We have already noticed the zeal with which, on several occasions, he sought to appease the wrath of the gods by sacrificial rites. So great was his piety, on setting out for the Marcomannic war, that one of the town wits composed the epigram, Οἱ λευκοὶ βόες Μάρκῳ τῷ Καίσαρι. Ἂν σὺ νικήσῃς, ἡμεῖς ἀπωλόμεθα.[6] It seems likely, too, that he followed the crowd in their reverence for the impostor Alexander, and ordered the lions to be

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[1] Lactant., *Diuin. inst.*, lib. 5, c. 3.

[2] Appuleius's defence on this occasion is still extant, and published in his works, under the title of *Apologia siue de magia liber.*

[3] See *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 17, and lib. 9, c. 27; Fronto, *De feriis Alsiens.*, epist. 3; Aristides, *Orat.* 2 (*in Mineruam*), 6 (*in Esculap.*), 7 (*in Asclep.*), and 15 (*ad Cyzic.*); and Lucian., *Macrob.*, c. 1.

[4] Capit., *M. Ant. Phil.*, c. 13: *Ignem de caelo lapsurum finemque mundi affore.*

[5] His whole life is described by Lucian, in his *Alexander seu Pseudomantis.*

[6] Ammian. Marcellin., lib. 25, c. 4, § 17.

cast into the Danube, as Alexander had commanded.[1] There is also extant a fragment of a work addressed to Marcus by one Julian of Laodicea, giving astrological directions for conducting the Marcomannic war.[2] And Ammianus Marcellinus, writing two centuries later, compares the superstition of the Emperor Julian with that of Marcus.[3] This, it must be owned, was the weakest point in Marcus's character; but it portrays well the morals of the age. The very fact of this weakness in himself, which he could not overcome, made the Emperor feel all the more strongly the importance of eradicating the superstition which he saw in others. There are several passages in his *Thoughts* which show plainly how genuine was his hatred of superstition.[4] We also read that he banished to the island of Syrus a man who had prophesied the revolt of Cassius, and a number of other matters, pretending to be inspired by the gods.[5] This seems to have been done in fulfilment of a law enacted by Marcus himself, to the effect that if any man should endeavor to work upon the credulity of the weak, the offender should be punished.[6] Much of the Christianity about him clearly fell under the penalty of this law, and the Emperor felt no more sympathy with it than with the Pagan superstition. The Empire was overrun with impostors, Pagan as well as Christian; and Marcus Aurelius was unwilling to make an exception in either case from the severity of the law. Unquestionably there were many in the Church who did not share the superstitious views of their more prominent brethren; but even the most orthodox believers often taught, as we have seen, a theology which could not fail

[1] Lucian., *Alex. seu Pseud.*, c. 48.

[2] See Append. II. of Mai's *Cicil anteiustinian. reliq. ined.* Roma, 1823.

[3] Ammian. Marcellin., *Rer. gest.*, lib. 25, c. 4, § 17.

[4] *Thoughts*, lib. 1, c. 6 and 16, and lib. 6, c. 30.

[5] *Mosaic et Rom. leg. coll.*, tit. 15, c. 2, § 5: *Denique et diuus Marcus eum, qui motu Cassiano uaticinatus erat, et multa quasi instinctu deorum dixerat, in insulam Syrum relegauit.*

[6] Iustinian, *Dig.*, lib. 48, tit. 19, c. 30: *Si quis aliquid fecerit, quo leues hominum animi superstitione numinis terrentur, diuus Marcus huiusmodi homines in insulam relegari rescripsit.* See also Paul., *Sent. ad fil.*, lib. 5, tit. 21, c. 2.

to be distasteful to a devout worshipper like the Emperor. The early Christians, many of them, made a great mistake in forgetting that a vessel can be sunk by carrying too much ballast, as well as by carrying none at all. If they had confined themselves to the simple doctrines enunciated by their Master they would have met with much less opposition from the Pagan world. Tertullian complains that the heretics are forever striving to fathom the unfathomable. "Away with the man," he exclaims, "who is ever seeking because he never finds; for he seeks where nothing can be found."[1] And, at this late day, we cannot but feel that the remark which Tertullian makes with reference to the heretics, was in reality applicable to nearly all the Christians of the second century. From the very first the Christians made a mistake in not appreciating the stress which Jesus had laid on πίστις. The people through whom Christianity was to spread were a speculative people, and they attached far too great importance to the γνῶσις. They attempted to apply the γνῶσις to questions which were quite beyond its reach; and sought to form a rational system of theology, at the expense of faith. A particular doctrine having once been challenged by the reason, it is difficult for the supporters of that doctrine to reply in terms of faith; and so the application of the γνῶσις to theology by the Alexandrians placed a stamp on Christianity which it has taken centuries to efface. Marcus Aurelius was no champion of rationalistic theology; and so, in refusing the Gnostic Christianity that was offered him, and in basing his belief in the Divine Powers solely upon his faith, he was maintaining the cause of πίστις as opposed to γνῶσις, he was following out the commands of Jesus in opposition to the dictates of Jesus's followers. In short, the Christianity which was offered to Marcus Aurelius was not the Christianity of Christ. It was heresy, and he rejected it. The persecutions under Marcus Aurelius were, therefore, in reality a blessing to the Church, inasmuch as they helped to purify her from the heresies with which her life was threatened.

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[1] Tertullian., *De praescrip. aduers. haer.*, c. 11.

LIST OF THE CHIEF WORKS CONSULTED.

[*Works written previous to the year* 1500 *are arranged in chronological order: subsequent to that date, in alphabetical order.*]

M. Cornelii Frontonis et M. Aurelii Imperatoris epistolae; L. Veri et Antonini Pii et Appiani epistolarum reliquiae; fragmenta Frontonis et scripta grammatica. Roma, 1823. 8°.

Such was the title of a book edited half a century ago by a young Italian, Angelo Mai. It was the correspondence of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius with his tutor, of which Mai had already edited and published a portion at Milan, in 1815. This correspondence the young Italian had discovered accidentally in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, while engaged in investigating the documents relative to the first council at Chalcedon. He had found a palimpsest manuscript of the acts of that council, written by the monks belonging to the convent of St. Columba at Bobbio; and, deciphering the manuscript erased to make room for the later document, had found it to be a work of far greater value than the one which had displaced it. These letters Mai had published as soon as possible; and a few years later, on moving to Rome, he had discovered in the Vatican Library several more sheets belonging to the same palimpsest. It was the result of his investigations with regard to these two manuscripts that is embodied in the work which appeared at Rome in 1823. The publication of this work created an intense interest among the scholars of Europe—and well it might; for these letters introduce us in the most intimate way to one of the noblest souls the world has ever known. This correspondence between the Emperor and Fronto has passed through several editions. Niebuhr, with the aid of Buttmann and Heindorf, published an edition accompanied by notes, at Berl., in 1826; and the work was brought out again by Naber, at Leipz., in 1867, this edition being based upon a careful examination of the manuscripts by G. N. du Rieu. Armand Cassan published a French translation of the work at Paris, 1830. 2 v. 8°. No translation has yet appeared in English. The following criticisms of the remains have been published: Ludwig Schopen, Bonn, 1830–41; Henr. Alanus, Dublin, 1841 and 1867; A. Philibert Soupé, *De Frontonis reliquiis*, Amiens, 1853; Jacob Mähly, in *Philologus* for 1861–3. v. 17, pp. 176–8, and v. 19, pp. 159–61; M. Haupt, *De emendatione librorum*

Frontonis, Berl., 1867; R. Ellis, in *Journal of Philology* for 1868; Eussner, in *Rheinisches Museum*, v. 25; Mommsen, in *Hermes* for 1874; Klaussmann, *Emendationes Frontonianae*, Göttingen, 1871 (2d ed., Berl., 1874); Hastings Crossley, in his translation of the 4th book of Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations*, Lond., 1882.

Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius. De rebus suis libri XII.; edid. et trad. in Lat. Gulielmus Xylander. Zürich, 1558. 8°.

The book which bore this title was the one we now know under the various names of Marcus Aurelius's *Thoughts*, his *Meditations*, his *Reflections*. The manuscript used by Xylander was divided into twelve books; but has since been lost. The only complete manuscript known to be now in existence is in the Vatican library; it bears no title, and none of the twelve books have any inscription except the eleventh, which is headed simply *Μάρκου Αὐτοκράτορος*. The Vatican library also possesses a few other manuscripts of portions of the work, and three more fragments are preserved in Florence. That the entire work was written by the Emperor Marcus Aurelius there is no doubt; but it is uncertain who divided it into books. The *Thoughts* have been re-edited several times since Xylander, viz., by Thomas Gataker, Cantab., 1652. 4° (2d ed., superintended by George Stanhope, Cantab., 1697. 4°); by J. M. Schultz, Schleswig, 1802. 8° (2te Aufl., Leipz., 1821. 8°); by Adamantius Caraïs, Paris, 1816. 8°; and by others. The book has been translated into French by André Dacier, Paris, 1691. 2 v. 12°; by J. P. de Joly, Paris, 1770. 8°; by Pierron, Paris, 1843. 18°; and by J. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, Paris, 1876. 18°; into German by F. C. Schneider, Breslau, 1857. 16° (2te Aufl., 1865. 16°); into Persian by Joseph Hammer, 1831. 8°; into English by Jeremy Collier, 1702. 8°; and by George Long, Lond., 1862. 8° (2d ed., Bost., 1864. 8°); and the fourth book has been translated into English and published with the Greek text by Hastings Crossley, Lond., 1882. 8°.

Itinerarium Antonini Augusti; edid. Parthey et Pinder. Berol., 1848. 8°.

This is an itinerary giving the roads throughout the whole Empire, with the distances along these roads from one town to another. It has been ascribed to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius; but is generally believed to have been compiled officially under Julius Cæsar, and to have been continually altered by authority of the various emperors down to the time of Diocletian.

Artemodorus *Daldianus*. Onirocriticon libri V.; ex recens. R. Hercher. Lips., 1864. 8°.

Lived under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.

Gellius, Aulus. Noctium Atticarum libri XX.; ex recens. Mart. Hertz. Lips., 1853. 2 v. 8°.

Lived from about 115 to 165.

Iustinus *Martyr*. Omnia opera; edid. J. C. Otto [*in his* Corpus apolo-

getarum Christianorum sæculi secundi. Ienae, 1842–61. 8 v. 8°. 3a ed. Ienae, 1876–81. 5 v. 8°].

Suffered martyrdom in 166. At the end of his *Apologia* is an apocryphal letter purporting to have been written by Marcus Aurelius to the Roman senate.

Martyrium Sanctorum Iustini, Charitonis, Charitus, Paeonis, et Liberani; edid. A. Galland [*in his* Bibliotheca ueterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum Ecclesiásticorum. Venet., 1765. f°. v. i. pp. 707–28].

Believed to have been written in 166.

Polycarpus *Smyrnensis*. Ad Philippenses epistola; edid. W. Jacobson [*in his* Patres apostolici. Oxon., 1863. 2 v. 8°. v. 2, pp. 521–56].

Suffered martyrdom in 166. This letter is the only work of his extant.

Ecclesiae Smyrnensis de martyrio S. Polycarpi epistola circularis; edid. J. B. Cotelier [*in his* Patrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt opera. Antuerp., 1698. 2 v. 4°. v. 2, pp. 193–202].

Believed to have been written in 166.

Appuleius, L., *Madaurensis*. Opera omnia; edid. F. Oudendorp. Lugd. Bat., 1786–1823. 3 v. 4°.

Flourished in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

Melito *Sardensis*. Fragmenta; edid. M. J. Routh [*in his* Reliquiae sacrae. Oxon., 1846. 4 v. 8°. v. 1, pp. 111–53].

Presented his *Apology* to Marcus Aurelius in 170.

Maecianus, L. Volusius. Distributio item uocabula ac notae partium in rebus quae constant pondere numero mensura; edid. F. Hultsch [*in his* Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae. Lips., 1864–6. 2 v. 8°. v. 2, pp. 61–71].

Of this eminent lawyer, who was Marcus's instructor in 146, and who died in 175, nothing, apart from extracts in the *Digest*, has been preserved except this little work on divisions of money, weights, and measures, written for his pupil Marcus Aurelius.

Gaius. Institutiones iuris ciuilis; edid. Böcking. Bonn, 1841. 4°.

Scarcely anything is known about this celebrated lawyer; but it is generally believed that he died in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

Pausanias. Descriptio Graeciae; instrux. J. H. C. Schubart et C. Walz. Lips., 1838–9. 3 v. 8°.

A Greek writer, died in the reign of Marcus.

Martyrum Lugdunensium epistola; edid. M. J. Routh [*in his* Reliquiae sacrae. Oxon., 1846. 4 v. 8°. v. 1, pp. 285–92].

This letter was written in 177 to Eleutherus, bishop of Rome, by the Christians of Lugdunum, who were then in prison and soon to be put to death.

Ecclesiae Viennensis et Lugdunensis epistola; edid. M. J. Routh [*in his* Reliquiae sacrae. Oxon., 1846. 4 v. 8°. v. 1, pp. 293–371].

Written in the year 177, or shortly after, by the Churches of Vienna and Lugdunum, to those in Asia and Phrygia.

Hermias. Irrisio gentilium philosophorum; edid. J. P. Migne [*in his* Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca, v. 6. Paris., 1857. 8°. pp. 1167–80].

A Christian philosopher of the latter half of the second century.

Aristides, Aelius. Opera; ex recens. Wilhelm Dindorf. Lips., 1829. 3 v. 8°.

A celebrated Greek rhetorician, born in 117 and died about 180.

Hegesippus. Fragmenta; edid. M. J. Routh [*in his* Reliquiae sacrae. Oxon., 1846. 4 v. 8°. v. 1, pp. 203–84].

A Jew converted to Christianity, wrote a history of the Church, and died about 180.

Lucianus *Samosatensis.* Opera; ex recens. Wilhelm Dindorf. Paris., 1842. 8°.

A Greek writer of the time of Marcus Aurelius.

Tatianus. Oratio aduersus Graecos; edid. J. C. Otto [*in his* Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi. Ienae, 1842–61. 8 v. 8°. v. 6].

A native of Syria, born about 120, was converted to Christianity by Justin, after whose death he adopted the heresy of the Marcionites.

Apollinarius, Claudius. Fragmenta; edid. M. J. Routh [*in his* Reliquiae sacrae. Oxon., 1846. 4 v. 8°. v. 1, pp. 155–74].

Bishop of Hierapolis, presented an *Apology* to Marcus Aurelius about 170.

Athenagoras. Opera; edid. J. C. Otto [*in his* Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi. Ienae, 1842–61. 8 v. 8°. v. 7].

A Greek philosopher, born at Athens, converted to Christianity, addressed his *Supplicatio pro Christianis* to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.

Theophilus *Antiochenus.* Opera; edid. J. C. Otto [*in his* Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi. Ienae, 1842–61. 8 v. 8°. v. 8].

Bishop of Antioch; died about 182.

Oracula Sibyllina; cur. C. Alexandre. Paris., 1841–56. 2 v. 8°.

Of these oracles the only portions believed to have been written during the reign of Marcus Aurelius are the third part of lib. 3, the whole of lib. 5, and the first part of lib. 8.

Passio S. Felicitatis et septem filiorum eius; edid. A. Galland [*in his* Bibliotheca ueterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum. Venet., 1765. f°. v. 1, Proleg. pp. 116–7, and pp. 673–4].

Has been assigned to the reign of Marcus Aurelius; on insufficient grounds, however.

Dionysius *Corinthius.* Fragmenta; edid. M. J. Routh [*in his* Reliquiae sacrae. Oxon., 1846. 4 v. 8°. v. 1, pp. 175–201].

Bishop of Corinth; flourished under Marcus and Commodus.

Pinytus *Cretensis.* Fragmenta; edid. M. J. Routh [*in his* Reliquiae sacrae. Oxon., 1846. 4 v. 8°. v. 1, pp. 178–201].

Bishop of Cnossia, in Crete; flourished under Marcus and Commodus.

Galenus, Claudius. Opera omnia; edit. cur. C. J. Kühn. Lips., 1821–33. 20 v. 8°.

This celebrated physician was born in 130, and died about 200.

Minucius Felix, M. Octauius; recog. Karl Halm [*in* Vienna. Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Corpus scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Vindobonae, 1866–82. 7 v. 8°. v. 2, pp. 1–71].

The scene of this dialogue is laid in the time of Marcus Aurelius; the author wrote during the reign of Septimius Severus.

Bardesanes. Fragmenta; edid. William Cureton [*in his* Spicilegium Syriacum. Lond., 1855. 8°. pp. 1–40].

A Christian writer, flourished in Syria from about 175 to about 200.

Clementina homilia; edid. J. P. Migne [*in his* Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca, v. 2. Paris., 1857. 8°. pp. 1–468].

This book appears to have been written at the close of the second, or at the beginning of the third, century. It is in Greek; and the author is unknown.

Clementinae recognitiones; edid. J. P. Migne [*in his* Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca, v. 1, Paris., 1857. 8°. pp. 1157–1474].

This is a Latin version, somewhat altered, of the *Clementina homilia.*

Irenaeus *Lugdunensis.* Omnia opera; edid. J. P. Migne [*in his* Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca, v. 7, Paris., 1857. 8°].

Born about 130 or 140. Is supposed to have suffered martyrdom in 202 or 208.

Clemens *Alexandrinus.* Opera; ex recens. Wilhelm Dindorf. Oxon., 1869. 4 v. 8°.

Born about 150 and died about 220.

Iulius, S., *Africanus.* Quae supersunt; edid. A. Galland [*in his* Bibliotheca ueterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum. Venet., 1766. f°. v. 2, Proleg. pp. 37–41, and pp. 337–76].

A Christian writer, wrote a history of the world from the creation to 221.

Dion Cassius Cocceianus. Historiae Romanae quae supersunt; edid. H. S. Reimarus. Hamburgi, 1750–2. 2 v. f°.

Only a small portion of this work has come down to us entire. Of the first thirty-four books, reaching to B.C. 71, nothing remains except a few fragments. Books 35–60 are preserved in a tolerably complete form. They embrace the period from B.C. 71 to A.D. 54. Books 61–80, which extend from A.D. 54 till A.D. 229, about the time of Dion Cassius's death, have come down to us only in the abridgment of Xiphilinus, a Christian writer of the eleventh century. For the fragments collected by the Emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century, and discovered since the edition of Reimarus was published, consult *Dionis excerpta;* edid. Angelo Mai [*in his* Scriptorum ueterum noua collectio e Vaticanis codicibus. Romae, 1825–38. 10 v. 4°. v. 2, pp. 135–233].

Philostratus, Flauius. Omnia opera; edid. C. L. Kayser. Lips., 1870–1. 2 v. 8°.

This writer lived about the year 200. He makes reference to Marcus Aurelius several times in his *Vitae Sophistarum;* also once in his *Dialexis.*

Herodianus. Historiarum libri octo; recog. Im. Bekker. Berol., 1826. 8°.

This book treats briefly of Marcus Aurelius's reign, although it purports to be only a history of the times in which the author lived, viz., from 180 to 238.

Tertullianus, Q. Septimius Florens. Opera omnia; edid. J. P. Migne [*in his* Patrologiae cursus completus. Series prima, v. 1, 2, and 3. Paris., 1844. 8°].

This Christian writer, the earliest of the Latin Fathers whose works have been preserved, was born about 160 and died about 240. He is especially useful for our purpose in his book *Ad Scapulam,* and in his *Apologeticus.*

Aduersus omnes haereses [Eng. trans., in the Ante-Nicene Christian library, v. 18. Edin., 1870. 8°. pp. 259–73].

This work has been attributed to Tertullian, and also to Victorinus *Petauionensis*, who fell a martyr to the Diocletian persecution, probably about 303; but it is impossible to determine who was the author.

Ulpianus, Domitius. Fragmenta; edid. Ph. E. Huschke [*in his* Iurisprudentiae anteiustinianae quae supersunt. Lips., 1867. 8°. pp. 467–545].

This celebrated lawyer flourished under Caracalla and Alexander Severus. Besides these few fragments, we have extensive quotations in the *Digest* from his works.

Paulus, Iulius. Sententiarum ad filium libri V.; edid. Ph. E. Huschke [*in his* Iurisprudentiae anteiustinianae quae supersunt. Lips., 1867. 8°. pp. 352–465].

This writer is also frequently quoted in the *Digest.* He was a contemporary of Ulpian, whom, however, he probably survived.

Constitutiones apostolicae; edid. J. P. Migne [*in his* Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca, v. 1. Paris., 1857. 8°. pp. 510–1156].

Probably the main portion of this work belongs to the third century.

Origenes. Opera; edid. J. P. Migne [*in his* Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca, v. 11–17. Paris., 1857. 9 v. 8°].

Born in Egypt about 186, died in 253.

Philosophumena siue haeresium omnium confutatio; edid. P. Cruice. Paris., 1860. 8°.

This work has been attributed to Hippolytus, who suffered martyrdom about 238, and to Origen; but it is now proved to have been written by neither of them.

Capitolinus, Iulius. Antoninus Pius; M. Antoninus Philosophus; Verus Imperator; Pertinax [*in* Scriptores historiae Augustae; recens. H. Jordan et F. Eyssenhardt. Berol., 1864. 2 v. 8°].

The author to whom these four biographies are assigned wrote under Diocletian. His works have come down to us only in the collection known as the *Scriptores historiae Augustae*. When this collection was made is uncertain. An edition of the *Scriptores historiae Augustae*, with the notes of Casaubon, Gruter, and Saumaise, was published by Schrevel, Lugd. Bat., 1671. 2 v. 8°.

Gallicanus, Vulcatius. Auidius Cassius [*in* Scriptores historiae Augustae].

This author, who lived in the reign of Diocletian, intended to write a complete history of the Roman emperors. The only work ascribed to him, however, is this life of Avidius Cassius.

Spartianus, Aelius. Hadrianus; Aelius Verus [*in* Scriptores historiae Augustae].

To this writer many scholars assign also the life of Avidius Cassius. He wrote under Diocletian and Constantine.

Lampridius, Aelius. Commodus; Heliogabalus [*in* Scriptores historiae Augustae].

This author, who wrote under Diocletian and Constantine, is believed by some scholars to be the same person as Spartianus, the full name being Aelius Lampridius Spartianus.

Eutropius. Breuiarum historiae Romanae; edid. Tzschucke. Lips., 1797. 8°.

This book, written in the reign of Constantine, treats briefly of Marcus.

Iuris anteiustiniani fragmenta quae dicuntur Vaticana; edid. Th. Mommsen [*in* Berlin. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologische und historische Abhandlungen, aus dem Jahre 1859. Berl., 1860. 4°. pp. 265–408].

The work which has come down to us under this name is a digest of the Roman law, compiled by some private individual in the reign of Constantine.

Philastrius. De haeresibus; edid. A. Galland [*in his* Bibliotheca ueterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum. Venet., 1780. f°. v. 7. pp. 475–521].

Flourished in the first quarter of the fourth century.

Eusebius *Caesariensis.* Opera; recog. Wilhelm Dindorf. Lips., 1867–71. 4 v. 16°.

The "Father of Ecclesiastical History," born about 264 and died about 340.

Victor, Sextus Aurelius. Opera; ex edit. G. C. Harles. Lond., 1829. 2 v. 8°.

This writer flourished in the middle of the fourth century. Of the works cited under his name he probably wrote only the *De Caesaribus*. The *Epitome de Caesaribus*, which agrees almost word for word with the *De Caesaribus*, is evidently the work of a later writer.

Iulianus, Flauius Claudius. Opera; recens. F. C. Hertlein. Lips., 1875–6. 2 v. 8°.

Roman emperor from 361 to 363. Speaks of Marcus in several of his works.

Ammianus Marcellinus. Opera; edid. K. S. A. Erfurdt. Lips., 1808. 2 v. 8°.

Wrote his history in the latter half of the fourth century.

Themistius. Orationes; edid. Wilhelm Dindorf. Lips., 1832. 8°.

These orations, written in the latter half of the fourth century, refer occasionally to the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

Sextus Rufus. Breuiarum de uictoriis et prouinciis populi Romani [*in* Hist. Roman. script. min.; studiis societatis Bipontinae. Biponti, 1789. 8°. pp. 209–30].

Lived in the latter half of the fourth century.

Gregorius *Nyssenus.* Omnia opera; edid. Morell et Gretser. Paris., 1638. 2 v. f°.

A Father of the Greek Church, lived in the latter half of the fourth century.

Claudianus, Claudius. Carmina; recens. L. Jeep. Lips., 1876–9. 2 v. 8°.

A Pagan poet, flourished about 400. Speaks in one place of Marcus Aurelius.

Lex Dei, siue Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collatio; edid. Ph. E. Huschke [*in his* Iurisprudentiae anteiustinianae quae supersunt. Lips., 1867. 8°. pp. 547–609].

This work was written by an unknown Christian author, probably about 400.

Epiphanius. Opera omnia; edit. J. P. Migne [*in his* Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca, v. 41–3. Paris., 1858. 3 v. 8°].

Born about 310, died in 402.

Hieronymus, Sophronius Eusebius. Opera omnia; edid. J. P. Migne [*in his* Patrologiae cursus completus. Series prima, v. 22–30. Paris., 1845–6. 11 v. 8°].

Born about 340, died in 420.

Augustinus, Aurelius. Opera omnia; edid. ordo S. Benedicti. Paris., 1836–9. 11 v. 8°.

Born in 354, died in 430.

Theodoretus. Opera omnia; recog. J. L. Schulze [*in* Migne's Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca, v. 80–4. Paris., 1860–4. 5 v. 8°].

Born about 390, died in 457.

Orosius, Paulus. Historiarum aduersus Paganos libri VII.; recens. Karl Zangemeister [*in* Vienna. Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Corpus scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinororum. Vindobonae, 1866–82. 7 v. 8°. v. 5, pp. 1–600].

Ecclesiastical writer of the first half of the fifth century.

Iustinianus, Flauius Anicius. Digesta; edid. Th. Mommsen. Berol., 1870. 2 v. 4°.

Compiled between 530 and 533.

Iustinianus, Flauius Anicius. Institutiones; edited, with Eng. trans., by T. C. Sandars. Lond., 1853. 8°.

Compiled by Tribonian and two others under Justinian. Completed in 533.

Iustinianus, Flauius Anicius. Codex; recens. Paul Krüger. Berol., 1877. 4°.

Compiled by Tribonian and four others under Justinian. Promulgated Nov. 16, 534.

Theophilus. Instituta; edid. Oth. Reitz. Hagae, 1751. 2 v. 4°.

This is a Greek paraphrase of the *Institutiones* of Justinian, composed about 534.

Petrus *Patricius.* Historiae; edid. L. Dindorf [*in his* Historici Graeci minores. Lips., 1870–1. 2 v. 8°. v. 1, pp. 425–37].

Petrus was a Byzantine historian of the sixth century. The portions of his *Historiae* which have come down to us were preserved in the *Excerpta de legationibus*, compiled by order of the Emperor Constantius Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century.

Chronicon Paschale; edid. Du Fresne et Du Cange [*in* Byzantinae historiae scriptores. Venet., 1729–33. 24 v. f°. v. 4].

The compiler lived in the reign of Heraclius, and ended his Chronicle in 630.

Landolfus *Sagax.* Additamenta ad Pauli historiam Romanam; edid. H. Droysen [*in* Monumenta Germaniae historica. Berol., 1877–81. 6 v. 4°. v. 2. pp. 225–376].

A Latin historian of the ninth century.

Suidas. Lexicon; recens. G. Bernhardy. Halis et Brunsuigae, 1853. 2 v. 4°.

This author lived in the eleventh century. His work contains an article on Marcus.

Cedrenus, Georgius. Compendium historiarum ab orbe condita ad Isaacum Comnenum; edid. Barthold Georg Niebuhr [*in* Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae. Bonnae, 1828–55. 48 v. 8°. v. 33 and 34].

A Greek monk of the eleventh century.

Zonaras, Ioannes. Epitome historiarum; edid. L. Dindorf. Lips., 1868–74. 6 v. 8°.

A Byzantine historian of the twelfth century.

Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus. Historia Ecclesiastica; edid. F. Ducaeus. Paris, 1630. 2 v. f°.

Born in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and died about 1450. Treats briefly of the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

Of later writers who treat of Marcus Aurelius or his times the following are the most important:

Arnold, Matthew. *See* Victoria magazine.

Aubé, Benjamin. Histoire des persécutions de l'Église jusqu' à la fin des Antonins. Paris, 1875. 8°.

Aubé, Benjamin. Histoire des persécutions de l'Église. La polémique païenne à la fin du II^e^ siècle. Paris, 1878. 8°.

Bach, Johann Nikolaus. De Marco Aurelio Antonino Imperatore philosophante. Lips., 1826. 8°.

Baptist quarterly. Phila., 1872. 8°. v. 6, pp. 187–203. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius, by J. W. Stearns.

Baur, Ferdinand Christian. Das Christenthum und die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte. Tübingen, 1853. 8°. [Eng. trans., Lond., 1878–9. 2 v. 8°. v. 2.]

Berlin. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum. Berol., 1828–77. 4 v. f°.

Berlin. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum. Berol., 1862–81. 12 v. f°.

Berlin. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologische und historische Abhandlungen, 1833. Berl., 1835. 4°. v. 4, pp. 1–39. Von dem Schutz der Minderjährigen im römischen Recht, von Friedrich Karl von Savigny. [*Repub. in* Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Rechtswissenschaft. Berl., 1842. 8°. v. 10, pp. 232–97.]

Bethmann-Hollweg, M. A. von. Der römische Civilprozess. Bonn, 1864–6. 3 v. 8°.

Biblical repertory and Princeton review. Phila., 1864. v. 36, pp. 297–323. Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

Bodek, Arnold. Römische Kaiser in judischen Quellen. Leipz., 1868. 8°. v. 1. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus als Zeitgenosse und Freund des Rabbi Jehuda ha-Nasi.

Boissier, Marie Louis Antoine Gaston. La religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins. Paris, 1874. 2 v. 8°.

Borghesi, Bartolommeo. *See* Giornale arcadico, *and* Roma. Istituto.

British quarterly review. Lond., Jan., 1883. 8°. v. 77, pp. 1–35. Marcus Aurelius and the Christian Church, by Walter F. Adeney.

Capes, William Wolfe. The Roman Empire of the second century, or the age of the Antonines [*in* Epochs of ancient history]. N. Y., 1879. 8°.

Champagny, François Joseph Marie Thérèse, Comte de. Études sur l'Empire Romain. Paris, 1866–70. 12 v. 18°. v. 7, 8, and 9. Les Antonins.

Clinton, Henry Fynes. Fasti Romani. Oxf., 1845–50. 2 v. 4°.

Cohen, Henry. Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain. Paris, 1859–68. 7 v. 8°. v. 2 and 3.

Colburn's new monthly magazine. Lond., 1862. 8°. v. 125, pp. 423–36. Marcus Aurelius, by Sir Nathaniel.

Contemporary review. Lond., 1869. 8°. v. 10, pp. 81–95. Marcus Aurelius and the Talmud, by E. H. Plumptre. [*Repub. in* Every Saturday. Bost., 1869. 8°. v. 7, pp. 236–41.]

Dahn, Felix. Urgeschichte der germanischen und römischen Völker [*in* Allgemeine Geschichte]. Berl., 1881. 2 v. 8°. v. 2, pp. 169–84.

De Quincey, Thomas. The Cæsars. Ed. of Bost., 1851. 8°.

Dirksen, Heinrich Eduard. Die Scriptores historiae Augustae. Leipz., 1842. 8°.

Dörgens, Hermann. L. Annaei Senecae disciplinae moralis cum Antoniniana contentio et comparatio. Lips., 1857. 8°.

Duruy, Jean Victor. Histoire des Romains depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu' à la fin du règne des Antonins. Paris, 1870–6. 5 v. 8°. v. 4 and 5.

Eckhel, Joseph Hilarius. Doctrina numorum ueterum. Vindobonae, 1792–8. 7 v. 4°. v. 7.

Fabretti, Raffaelo. Inscriptionum antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis asseruantur explicatio. Romae, 1702. 4°.

Fabricius, Johann Albert. Bibliotheca Graeca siue notitia scriptorum ueterum Graecorum; cur. G. C. Harles. Hamb., 1790–1809. 12 v. 4°. v. 5, pp. 500–15.

Farrar, Frederic William. Marcus Aurelius [*in his* Seekers after God. Lond., 1879. 8°. pp. 257–317].

Fessler, Ignaz Aurelius. Marc-Aurel. 3te Aufl., Breslau, 1799. 4 v. 8°.

Fortnightly review. Lond., May, 1882. 8°. v. 37, pp. 564–86. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, by Frederic W. H. Myers. [*Repub. in* Myers's Essays classical. Lond., 1883. 2 v. 8°. v. 1, pp. 117–223.]

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